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A HISTORY OF EGYPT

Vol. III.

From the XIXth to the XXXth Dynasties

This History comprises Six Volumes:

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Vol. II.	Dynasties XVII.–XVIII.	By W. M. F. Petrie
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A HISTORY OF EGYPT

FROM THE XIXTH TO THE XXXTH DYNASTIES

BY

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE

HON. D C.L., LL.D., LITT.D., PH.D.,
F.R.S., F.B.A., HON. F.S.A.SCOT.

MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL GERMAN ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE
MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF NORTHERN ANTIQUARIES
ETC. ETC.

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PREFACE

THE long delay in the issuing of this volume must be excused, in view of the great mass of fresh discoveries that have been on my hands: the researches in the early dynasties have not only occupied much time, but they have necessitated such changes in the revision of what has been already published of this History, that no time could be given to the present volume until two years ago. Moreover, the period here dealt with has such a large mass of details in it, and so great a quantity of references, that it has been a long work to place them in shape. Over 200 officials in one single reign imply some weeks of research before a final list of their monuments can be made. In another way much time has been required, in order to get rid of bad references. The monuments of this age have been so often published, that many of the copies are quite worthless when compared with others; and every copy that did not give something that was unstated elsewhere has been omitted here, so as to save the student's time, and direct him to the best sources at once. There is, I believe, no other country of which there is a complete index to every historical monument that is known, with a translation or abstract of every historical text.

In some of the translations here given an attempt has been made to show the idiom so far as possible.

For a student it is better to be able to appreciate the character of a language, rather than to transpose the ideas into the expression of a different civilisation. So long as the sense could be grasped, the words have been left to tell their own tale. The ruggedness and strange English is therefore intentional ; and I have to thank Dr. Walker for looking over the texts.

Regarding chronology, the greatest care has been taken to get all the data together ; and in some parts—as the XXIInd dynasty—a very different face is put on the history by the fresh material here stated. Broadly, there is not as much as 10 years to spare anywhere in this volume. The fixed amounts occupy the whole period very closely, and it is even difficult to suppose that they really come together without more unascertained intervals.

As some persons still continue to quote Dr. Brugsch's chronology, I ought, perhaps, to point out that it entirely rests on two certainly false assumptions, and it is only rendered possible by freely making any number of arbitrary omissions. In short, it is no system, and it has no reason. The assumption that a generation is 33 years is certainly wrong ; in the royal families we find throughout that the generations of 22 years for eldest surviving sons (which are shown by the Jewish kings) exactly fit the known history. The other assumption, that a reign is equal to a generation, is also certainly wrong, as we see by looking into the family history of any dynasty. These entirely false premises are then arbitrarily doctored by omitting to count any reigns which would make the time too long, as in the XXth to XXVth dynasties, where 18 kings are omitted, and an overlap of 66 years is made where it is impossible. Nothing remains but a mass of guesswork, in which all the certain facts are ignored.

And no one who uses it can be supposed to know of the facts of the history which are stated in this volume.

Our earlier dates depend on the fixing of the reign of Amenhotep I., which is generally accepted as given in vol. ii.; though probably a difference of a few years may be involved (see LEHMANN) in correcting MAHLER'S new moon dates from the theoretical to the apparent new moon. The dead-reckoning of reigns in the XVIIIth dynasty, however, precludes our accepting the dating derived by MAHLER from the star diagrams, which are to be treated otherwise, as we see below. The lengths of reigns show that the close of the XVIIIth dynasty must be about 1328 B.C. And as this puts Ramessu I. to 1328–26 B.C., it agrees nearly with his being Menophres (Men·peh·ra), who was reigning at the Sothiac period of 1322 B.C.

It seems therefore certain that the star diagrams—which give well fixed epochs—must belong to some earlier points in the reigns of Ramessu II. and VI., and not to the time of constructing the buildings, as has been supposed. The only star diagrams known, in any age with which we are familiar, are the horoscopes of persons' nativities; and it is a gratuitous assumption that the diagrams of the Ramessides should refer to any other event in their lives.

Let us see how this works out. The cieling of the Ramesseum shows 1318 B.C. as an epoch (A.Z. xxviii. 33). The age of Ramessu II. was probably about 18 at his accession (the age in A.Z. xxviii. 34 refers only to his army rank); for he was married in the 1st year of his reign, and he had ten sons in the 8th year, even though they were not actually fighting. Thus his reign might probably begin in 1300 B.C. Now, counting from the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, Sety I. began to reign in 1326 B.C., and so this leaves about 26 years

for the reign of Sety I., which seems very probable. The other horoscope, that of Ramessu VI., is dated to 1198 B.C. ; and as he was the second son of Ramessu III., who began to reign about 1200 B.C. (by the above data), this would well agree to the horoscope being of his nativity.

The whole subject has been so much complicated by mixing together the general dating by stars (of which the personal application is apparently wrong), together with the more detailed dating by new moons (which might apply to other epochs 19 years apart), that it is impossible to disentangle the facts from the theories, without a research too long for this volume. But the main conclusion, that the horoscopes are of nativities, like later horoscopes, seems the only view which will fit the tangible data of the reigns. (See A.Z. xxvii. 97, xxviii. 32, xxxii. 99 ; O.L.Z. iii. 202, v. 184, etc.)

The other synchronisms, with the Jewish history, offer no difficulty, and will be found dealt with under their respective reigns.

No one can feel more strongly than I do that this work is only a skeleton of facts, and cannot in its present scope show the living civilisation of the land. But as the palaeontologist studies the exact detail of every bone and joint before he can restore the living appearance of an extinct animal, so the historian must restore the detail of each period before he can begin to work at the whole life of a country. And now the way is clear for studies of various aspects of ancient Egypt upon a solid basis of history.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.	L'Anthropologie (Journal).
A.A.	Ayrton, Abydos, iii.
A.B.	Arundale and Bonomi Gallery (Brit. Mus.).
A.E.	L'Archéologie Egyptienne (Maspero).
A.G.	Amelineau Geography.
A.L.	Archæologia, London, Society of Antiquaries.
Am. P. . . .	Amherst Papyrus.
A. Mus. . . .	Ashmolean Museum.
A.R.	Archæological Report, Egypt Exploration Fund.
A.S.	Annales du Service.
A.Z.	Zeitschrift Aeg. Sprache.
B.A. Cat. . .	Birch, Alnwick Catalogue.
B.A.G. . . .	Berlin Anthrop. Gesellsch.
B.B.M. . . .	Belmore Tablets, B. Mus.
B.C.	Berlin Catalogue, 1894.
Bd. A. . . .	Breasted, Hymn to Aten.
B.E.	Baedeker, Egypt.
Belz. T. . .	Belzoni's Travels, 3rd edition.
Berl.	Berlin Museum.
Berl. Cat. . .	,, Catalogue, 1899.
B.F.	Brend Monuments of Florence.
B.G.	Brugsch, Geographie.
B.G.I. . . .	,, Geog. Inschrift.
B.G.O.K. . .	,, Grosse Oasis El Khargeh.
B.G.M. . . .	Benson and Gourlay, Temple of Mut.
B.H. . . .	Brugsch, History.
B.H.I. . . .	Bergmann, Hierog. Inschrift.
B.I.	Berlin Aegyptische Inschriften.
B.I.E. . . .	Bulletin Inst., Egypt.
B.I.H.D. . .	Birch, Inscr. Hieratic Demotic.
B. Met. . . .	Bissing Metallgefasse, C. Mus.
B.M.C. . . .	Bliss, Mound of many Cities.
B. Mus. . .	British Museum.
B.O.D. . . .	Bezold, Oriental Diplomacy.
B.P.	Birch, Pottery.
B.R.	Brugsch, Recueil.

B.R.P. . . . Birch, Two Rhind Papyri.
B. Rs. . . . Brugsch, Reiseberichte.
B.S.A. . . . Budge, Saraph. Ankhnesraneferab.
B.S.Y. . . . Brugsch, Sieben Jahre.
B.T. . . . ,, Thesaurus.
B.X. . . . Burton, Excerpta.
C.B. . . . Champollion, Deux Letters . . . Duc de Blacas.
C.C.T. . . . Chabas, Choix des Textes.
C.E. . . . ,, Melanges, Egypt.
C.F. . . . Champollion, Figeac Egypt. Anc.
C.L. . . . ,, Lettres, ed. 1868.
C.M. . . . ,, Monuments.
C.M.C.X. . . ,, Musées Charles X.
C.M.F.B. . . Cailland, Meroe au Fleuve Blanc.
C.M.O. . . . Chabas, Mines d'Or.
C. Mus. . . Cairo Museum
C.N. . . . Champollion, Notices.
C.O.E. . . . Congrès Oriental, St. Etienne, 1878.
C.O.T. . . . Cailland, Oasis of Thebes.
C.R. . . . Capart, Recueil.
C.T.K. . . . Caulfeild, Temple of Kings.
C.V.O. . . . Cailland, Voyage à l'Oasis.
D.D. . . . Duemichen, Baugesch. Denderatempels.
D.E. . . . Description de l'Égypte.
D.F. . . . Duemichen, Flotte.
D.G. . . . Davies, Gebrawi.
D.G.P. . . . Duemichen, Grab Patuamenapt.
D.H. . . . ,, Histor. Inschrift.
D. Hist. . . ,, History.
D.K.O. . . . ,, Kalend-Opfer-listen, Medinet Habu.
D.M. . . . Deveria, Memoirs.
D.M.E. . . . ,, Manuscrits Egyptn. (Louvre Catalogue).
D.M.H. . . Daressy, Medinet Habu.
D.O. . . . Duemichen, Oasen.
D.P. . . . Davies, Ptah-hetep.
D.S. . . . ,, Sheikh-Said.
D.T.I. . . . Duemichen, Temple Inschriften.
Dy. O. . . . Daressy Osraka.
E. Coll. . . Edwards Collection.
E.G. . . . Ebers, Gozen zum Sinai.
E.L. . . . Études ded. Leemans.
E. Mus. . . Ermitage Museum.
E. Ob. . . . Ebers, Oberegypten.
F.H. . . . Fraser, Graffiti of Hat-nub.
F. Mus. . . Florence Museum.
F.P. Coll. . . Flinders Petrie Collection.
F.S. . . . Fraser, Scarabs.
G.A. . . . Garstang, Arabah.
G. Bh. . . . Griffith, Beni Hasan.

G. Coll. . .	Grant Collection (Aberdeen).
G.D. . . .	Gau, Denkmaler, Nubia.
G.E. . . .	Golenischeff, Ermitage Catalogue.
G.F. . . .	Greene, Fouilles.
G.H. . . .	Golenischeff, Hammamat.
G.K. . . .	Griffith, Kahun Papyri.
G.L. . . .	Gatty, Catalogue Liverpool.
G.M. . . .	Garstang, Mahasna.
G. Mus. . .	Gizeh Museum (now Cairo Museum).
G.N. . . .	Gardner, Naukratis ii.
G.O. . . .	Gorringe, Egyptian Obelisks.
G.S. . . .	Griffith, Siut.
H.B. . . .	Hawkins, Belmore Tablets (Brit. Mus.).
H. Coll. . .	Hilton-Price Collection.
H.G.O. . .	Hoskins, Great Oasis.
H.P. . . .	Birch, Harris Papyrus.
J.A.I. . . .	Jour. Anthrop. Institute.
L.A. . . .	Lepsius, Auswahl.
Lb. D. . . .	Lieblein, Dictionary of Names.
Lb. P. . . .	,, St. Petersburg, Aegyptischen Denkmaler.
L.C. . . .	Leyden Congress.
L. Cat. H. .	Lee, Catalogue of Hartwell Collection.
L.D. . . .	Lepsius, Denkmäler.
L.D.T. . . .	,, ,, Texte.
L. 22 Dyn. .	,, XXIInd Dynasty.
L.K. . . .	,, Königsbuch.
L.K.R. . . .	Lincke, Correspond. Zeit Ramessiden.
L.L.S. . . .	Leemans, Letter to Salvolini.
L.L. . . .	Lepsius, Letters (Eng. ed.).
L.M.E. . . .	Leemans, Monumens Egypt, Leyden 1840.
L. Mon. . .	Leyden, Aeg. Monumens.
L. Mus. . .	,, Museum.
L.R. . . .	Livre des Rois.
L.T. . . .	Lanzone, Catalogue of Turin.
L.T.P. . . .	Lyons, Temples of Philae.
M.A. . . .	Mariette, Catalogue Abydos.
M.A. ii. . . .	,, Abydos ii.
M.A.B. . . .	,, Album de Boulaq.
Mac. Coll. . .	Mac-Gregor Collection.
M.A.E. . . .	Max Müller, Asien und Europa.
M.A.F. . . .	Mission Archeol. Franc., Cairo.
M.B. . . .	Mariette, Catalogue Boulaq., 6th edit.
M. Coll. . .	Murch Collection, Chicago.
M.D. . . .	Monuments Divers.
M.D.B. . . .	Mariette, Deir el Bahri.
M.D.F.S. . .	,, Descrip. Fouilles de Serapeum, 1863.
M.E. . . .	Musée Egyptien.
M.E.E. . . .	Maspero, Études Egypt.

Mel.	Mélanges, d'Arch. Egypt (Maspero).
M.F.D. . . .	De Morgan, Fouilles à Dashur.
M.G. . . .	Meyer, Geschichte.
M.I.	De Morgan, Monuments et Inscriptions.
M.K. . . .	Mariette, Karnak.
M.M. . . .	,, Mastabas.
M.O. . . .	Murray, Osireion.
M.P.B. . . .	Mariette, Papyrus Boulaq.
M.S.	,, Serapeum, 1857.
M.S. Ms. . .	,, ,, ed. Maspero.
Ms. A. . . .	Maspero, L'Archéologie Egypt.
Ms. C. . . .	,, Contes Populaires.
Ms. C.M. . .	,, Catalogue Marseilles.
Ms. E. . . .	,, Enquête Judicaire.
Ms. G. . . .	,, Guide Boulaq.
Ms. G.E. . .	,, Genre Epistolaire.
Ms. M. . . .	,, Momies de Deir el Bahari.
Ms. M.P.L. .	,, Mem. Papyr. Louvre.
Ms. P.E. . .	,, Passing of the Empires.
Ms. Q.G. . .	,, Guide, Cairo Mus., trans. Quibell.
Ms. S.N. . .	,, Struggle of the Nations.
My. E. . . .	Murray, Guide to Egypt, ed. 1880.
My. T. . . .	,, Tombs of Saqqara.
N.A.	Naville, Ahnas.
N. Aeg. . .	Nicholson, Aegyptiaca.
N.A.P. . . .	Naville, Ahnas, Tylor's Paheri.
N.B.	,, Bubastis.
N.Bh. . . .	Newberry, Beni Hasan.
N.D.B. . . .	Naville, Deir el Bahri.
N.F.H. . . .	,, Festival Hall.
N.G. . . .	,, Goshen.
N.L.S. . . .	,, Litanie du Soleil.
N.P.	,, Pithom.
N. Pin. . . .	,, Inscrip. de Pinodjem.
N.S.	Newberry, Scarabs.
N.Y. . . .	Naville, Tell el Yahudiyeh.
O. Coll. . .	Owen's College, Manchester.
O.L.Z. . . .	Orient. Litteratur Zeitung.
O.T.	Orcurti, Catalogue of Turin.
P.A.	Petrie, Tell el Amarna.
P. Ab. i. and ii.	,, Abydos i. and ii.
Pap. T. . . .	Papyri of Turin, Pleyte and Rossi.
P. Cat. . . .	Hilton-Price Catalogue.
P.C.E. . . .	Perrot and Chipiez, Egypt.
P.D.	Petrie, Dendereh.
P.D.P. . . .	,, Diospolis Parva.
P.E.	,, Ehnasya.
P.E.E. . . .	Pierret, Études Egypt.
P.E.F.Q. . .	Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly.

P.E.T. . . .	Petrie, Egyptian Tales.
P.H. . . .	,, Hawara.
Ph. Mus. . .	Philadelphia Museum.
P.I.	Petrie, Illahun.
P. Ins. . . .	Piehl, Inscriptions.
P.K.	Petrie, Kahun.
P. Kop. . .	,, Koptos.
P.L.	Pierret, Louvre Catalogue, Salle historique.
P.M. . . .	Petrie, Medum.
P. Mus. . .	Paris (Louvre) Museum.
P.N.	Petrie, Nebesheh (in Tanis ii.).
P.N.B. . . .	,, Naqada and Ballas.
P. Nk. . . .	,, Naukratis.
P.O.N. . . .	Prokesch van Osten, Nilfahrt.
P.P.	Petrie, Pyramids of Gizeh.
P.P.R. . . .	Pleyte, Papyrus Rollin.
P.P.T. . . .	,, ,, de Turin.
P.R.	Pierret, Recueil Inscrip. Louvre.
Pr. A. . . .	Prisse, Art.
Pr. M. . . .	,, Monuments.
P.R.T. i. and ii.	Petrie, Royal Tombs i. and ii.
P.S.	,, Season 1887.
P. Sc. . . .	,, Scarabs.
P.S.T. . . .	,, Six Temples.
P.T. i. and ii. .	,, Tanis i. and ii.
P.T.O. . . .	Parker, Twelve Obelisks in Rome.
Q.H. i. and ii.	Quibell, Hierakonpolis i. and ii.
Q.R. . . .	,, Ramesseum.
R.A.	De Rougé, Album Phot. Mission, Egypt.
R.C. . . .	Revue Critique.
R.E.	De Rougé, Études Egyptologiques.
Rec.	Recueil de Travaux, Égyptiennes et Assyriennes.
Rev. A. . . .	Revue Archéologique.
Rev. E. . . .	,, Egyptologique.
R.L.	Rosellini, Mon. Civili.
R.M.A. . . .	Randall MacIver, El Amrah and Abydos.
R.M.L. . . .	De Rougé, Monuments Egn. du Louvre.
R.N.M. . .	,, Notice des Monuments.
R.N.S. . . .	,, Not. som. Louvre.
R.P. i. to xviii.	Records of the Past, series I. i.–xii. ; II. i.–vi.
R.Q.T.D. . .	Revillont, Quelques textes Demotiques.
R.R. . . .	Rosellini, Mon. Religious (del Culto).
R.S.	,, Mon. Storici.
R.S.D. . . .	De Rougé, Six Dynasties.
S.A.K. . . .	Schäfer, Aethiop. König Inschriften.
S.B.A. . . .	Soc. Biblical Archæol. Proceedings.
S.B.A.T. . .	,, ,, ,, Transactions.
S. Cat. F. . .	Schiaparelli, Catalogue, Florence.
S.C.R.P. . .	Spiegelberg, Corr. Rois Prêtres.

S.E.C. . . . Smith, Eponym Canon.
S.E.W. . . . Stuart, Egypt after the War.
S.G.C. . . . Schmidt, Glyptothek Carlsberg.
S.H.O. . . . Spiegelberg, Hieratic Ostraka.
S.I. Sharpe, Inscriptions.
S.M.C. . . . Schmidt, Musée de Copenhagen.
S.M.E.I. . . Schiaparelli, Mon. Egn. dell' Iseo, 1883.
S. Pap. . . . Select Papyri, B. Mus.
S.P.S.S. . . Spiegelberg and Portner, Sud-deutschen Sammlung.
S.S. Shuckhardt, Schliemann.
S.S.A. . . . Schack - Schackenborg, Unterw. des König Amenemhat.
S.T. Schiaparelli, Tomba Herchuf.
S.U. Sethe, Untersuchungen.
T.A. Tylor, el Kab, Amenhotep III.
T. Mus. . . Turin Museum.
T.P. ,, Papyrus.
U.M. . . . Unger, Manetho.
V.G. Virey, Catalogue Gizeh.
V. Mus. . . Vienna Museum.
V.P. Vyse, Pyramids.
V.S. Valeriani and Segato, Atlante Monumentale.
W.G. . . . Wiedemann, Geschichte.
W.G.S. . . . ,, ,, Supplement.
W.H.T. . . ,, Hier. Text., Berlin and Paris.
W.M.C. . . Wilkinson, Manners and Customs, ed. Birch.
W.M.H. . . ,, Materia Hierog.
W.R.S. . . . Weill, Recueil Inscrip. Sinai.
W.T. . . . Wilkinson, Topography of Thebes.
Y.H. . . . Young, Hieroglyphs.
Y.L. Yorke and Leake, Mon. Prin. Brit. Mus.

A HISTORY OF EGYPT

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY

In the two previous volumes we have traced through the history of Egypt the fluctuations of power and ability. Down to this point the strength of the civilisation though transiently fading, yet continually revived in various forms with almost equal vitality. But after the XVIIIth dynasty, however, the decay of the State was without remedy; each capable ruler fell short of the scope of his forerunners, and the only prosperous times were when some external power—Ethiopian, Libyan, or Greek—administered the country.

Though this dynasty marks a profound difference in the civilisation of Egypt, yet its rise is very obscure. The origin of the Ramesside family is unknown. The name of Rames appears at Thebes as that of a vizier at the end of Amenhotep III. and under his son, active therefore about 1380 B.C. (S.E.W. 378); this tomb was unfinished, and probably the same man carved a tomb at Tell el Amarna, in which he is named as general and major-domo of Amenhotep III. The name Suti, a form of the god Set, is also that of a high official of Amenhotep IV. (Rec. xv. 42). And the names of Suti and Rames appear together on one tablet of about this period (Munich. Lb. D. 640). Probably Ramessu I. and his son Sety were related to some, or all, of these people; and in any case the presence of these names in an ordinary Egyptian family of the

time, shows that no foreign source need be supposed. The position of Ramessu was a strong one, as he had married a royal princess some twenty years before he took the throne.

The Greek lists are here so greatly confused, and have so many certain repetitions, that it will suffice to notice them afterwards. From the monuments we have the following results as probable:—

		Monuments. years.	Lists. years.	B.C. about
				1328
1	Ramessu I.	2	...	
				1326
2	Sety I.	9	...	
				1300
3	Ramessu II.	67	66	
				1234
4	Merenptah	8	20	
				1214
5	Sety II.	4	...	
				1209
6	Amenmeses	1	5	
				1208
7	Siptah + Tausert	6	7	
				1203
8	Setnekht	1	...	
				1202

The general length of this dynasty cannot well be more, as Bakenkhonsu was 16 years old, or more, in the reign of Sety, by 1300 B.C., and yet his statue was carved under Ramessu III., after 1202; hence he must have been at least 114 years old. On the other hand, the length cannot be less, as the row of ancestors of Ramessu III. at Medinet Habu shows Setnekht next after Sety II., and therefore probably his son: thus there were six generations between Ramessu I. and III., so giving five generations between Ramessu II. and VI.; and as their horoscope dates are 120 years apart, this averages 24 years to each generation, including a 13th son (Merenptah) and two other younger sons. Hence this dynasty cannot well be shorter, especially as the reigns could scarcely be cut down.

To show how far the dates will agree to the probable ages of the kings, we may arrange them as follows:—

B.C.

1375 | o Ram. I. born
1346 | 29 birth of o Sety I.
1328 | 47 succeeds
1326 | 49 dies 20 succeeds
1318 | 28 birth of o Ram. II.
1300 | 46 dies 18 succeeds
1292 | 26 birth of o Merenptah
1270 | . . . 22 birth of . o Sety II.
1248 | 22 birth of Tausert (?)
1246 | 24 Amenmeses and o Setnekht born (?)
1234 | 84 dies 58 succeeds
1224 | 22 birth of o Ram. III.
1214 | 78 dies 56 succeeds
1209 | 59 dies
1208 | Amenmeses d.
1203 | Siptah d. 42 succeeds
1202 | 43 dies 22 succeeds
1202 | 22 birth of Ram. IV.
1198 | 26 birth of Ram. VI.
1170 | 53 dies

The absolute dates taken here are the births of Ramessu II. and R. VI. by their horoscopes; and, as observed above, Bakenkhonsu's life prevents any considerable lengthening here. The assumptions of the actual ages of the kings are on the following grounds: Ram. I. married a princess, and therefore probably after he had won some position; the whole of the ages in this reign are probably more rather than less than here stated. Sety I. certainly shows a face not over middle age in his mummy; and though Ramessu II. was not the eldest son, he was not likely to be born later than the 28th year of Sety. Merenptah was the 13th son of R. II., who had 6 sons in his 23rd year of age. The 22 years allowed for the later generations is the average of eldest son generations in the Jewish kings. Though a few years of uncertainty exists throughout, this system shows that the necessities of the family genealogy fit quite reasonably with the chronology. On the succession see *Rev. Arch.* iii. ser. xix. 275.

XIX. 1. MEN·PEHTI·RA 

1328–1326 B.C.

RAMESSU (I.) 

Mummy (?) and coffin lid, Cairo (Ms. M. 551).
Tomb, No. 16 in valley of Kings' Tombs (L.D. iii. 123; C.M. 236–7; M.A.F. iii. 157).

Sarabit	Two steles	
Qantara	Base of hawk	(Pr. M. xix.; P.N. 104).
El Merg	Inscription	(N.Y. 69).
Memphis?	Base of statue (Louvre)	(Rev. E. iii. 46).
Abydos	Name of *ka*	(P. Ab. lxvi.).
Karnak	Pylon before hypostyle hall	(B.E. 243; C.N. ii. 45).
,,	West side ,,	(L.D. iii. 124 a–c).
Wady Halfa	Stele, 2nd yr. (Louvre)	(C.M. i. 2; R.S. 45).

Scarabs, not rare.

Worshipped—Temple of Qurneh, by Sety I.	(L.D. iii. 131 b; L.D.T. iii. 91, 99).
by Ramessu II.	(L.D. iii. 151 a, b).
Abydos, ancestors by barque of Sety	(M.A. i. 32).
,, ,, in lists	(M.A. i. 43; Pr. M. ii.).
Ramesseum, statues of ancestors	(L.D. iii. 163).
Medinet Habu, ,, ,,	(L.D. iii. 212).
In tomb of Anhurkhaui	(L.D. iii. 1 d).
,, Penbuy	(L.D. iii. 173).
On stele of Hora, Abydos (Cairo)	(M.A. ii. 51).
Queen—SITRA	
Tomb in Bab el Harim	(C.N. i. 394; L.D.T. iii. 235).
With barque of Sety I.	(M.A. i. 32).
In tomb of Sety I.	(M.A.F. ii. pt. iii. pl. xi. 178–81).

The fragments of two coffins, one perhaps original, the other appropriated for Ramessu I., were found in the royal cavern at Deir el Bahri, lying with an unnamed and unwrapped mummy. It is supposed that Ramessu had been entirely plundered in the tomb of Anhapu, and the remains collected together and redeposited (Ms. M. 552). The inscription records that

his body had been moved to the tomb of Sety I., and thence to the tomb of Anhapu. The rock-cut tomb in the Biban el Meluk contains the sarcophagus and carved scenes.



FIG. 1.—Ramessu I., from his tomb. C.M. 236.

The only serious work of this brief reign was the beginning of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak, by building the western pylon in front of it (C.N. ii. 45).

That the beginning of a new dynasty was at once recognised, is seen by the king taking for his names an elaborate parody of the names of Aahmes I., the founder of the previous dynasty, thus:

Uaz-kheperu Ra-neb-pehti Aah-mes.
Uaz-sutenyu Ra-men-pehti Ra-messu.

The same is seen when Sheshenq I. parodies the names of Nesibanebdadu; thus the founder of the XXIInd dynasty imitated the founder of the XXIst. It is clear, then, that the division in dynasties was recognised by the Egyptians at these four occasions.



FIG. 2.—Scarabs of Ramessu I. F.P. Coll.

The king was generally adored in the list of kings, both official and private; and as he is often put in succession to Horemheb, it might be supposed that he was his son. Horemheb was probably in power as far back as 1350, though not actually reigning till 1330 B.C. Hence his son might well be born about 1375, as suggested in the table above. There seems no impossibility in the case; and the main fact against his royal descent is the evident fact of his founding a new dynasty.

That he married the princess Sitra is practically

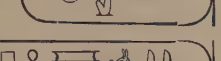
certain. She is placed next behind him by Sety I. (M.A. i. 32); she appears in the tomb of Sety, and must therefore be either his wife or mother (see *Maspero*, S.B.A. xi. 190, for various opinions); and as Tuy, the mother of Ramessu II., is well known, and Sitra is called "royal mother" in her tomb, she must be the mother of Sety. (There is no ground for the title "royal wife" being honorary; for in the XXIst dynasty Mutemhat is really the second name of Makara.) Moreover, it is certain that Sety did not inherit his face from his father, but he is strikingly like Sitra. What was the descent of Sitra is unknown.



FIG. 3.—Sitra, from her tomb. R.S. v. 19.

From the age of her son, she was probably born about 1363 B.C. She can hardly have been a daughter of Akhenaten, or she would appear on his inscriptions; but she might have been the daughter of Mertaten and Ra-ser-khepru, as Mertaten was born about 1380, and would be 17 at the birth of Sitra. Sety I. is the only known child of Ramessu I.

XIX. 2. MEN·MAAT·RA  1326–

SETY (I.) MER·EN·PTAH.  1300 B.C.

Mummy and coffin, Cairo (Ms. M. 553).
Tomb, No. 17 in valley of Kings' Tombs (L.D. iii. 133–137; M.A.F. ii.; N.L.S. i.–xvii.).
,, sides of pillars in P. Mus., F. Mus.
Alabaster coffin, London, Soane Mus. (Sharpe and Bonomi, *Sarcophagus of Oimenepthah I.*).

Tell esh Shibab	Stele, vase fragments	(P.E.F.Q. 1902, 211).
Sarabit el Khadem	Inscriptions, vases, etc.	(W.R.S. Nos. 110, 111; M.S.N. 374).
Alexandria	Inscription and figures	(B. Rs. 10).
,,	Door jamb	(A.S. v. 120).
Qantara	Base of hawk	(Pr. M. xix.; P.N. 104).
Tanis (?)	Altar, Vienna	(Rec. xii. 4).
Khataanah	Cartouches	(N.G. ix. d).
Tell el Yehudiyeh	Model of temple of Heliopolis	(G.O. xxxii.; Rec. viii. 8).
Heliopolis	Eight-sided pillar, Berlin	(W.G. 424).
,,	Slabs with gods and king, Brussels	(C. Rec. 39).
,,	Altar, granite, Cairo Mus.	(A.S. ii. 95).
,,	Flaminian obelisk, Rome	(G.O. 130).
,,	,, copied on Sallustian	(G.O. 135).
,,	Palace mentioned	(P.P.R. 3).
Memphis	Sanctuary named	(Posno tablet, No. 8).
,,	Name on block	(P.O.N. 272).
,,	Deposits of temple of Ptah	(B.T. 1223; F.P. Coll.).
Saqqara	Apis chapel	(M.S. 12).
,,	Granite weight (C. Mus.)	(Ms. G. 245).
Fayum	Stele, 2nd year	(Rec. xiv. 38).
Speos Artemidos	Inscriptions	(L.D. iii. 138 h–m).
,,	On inscrip., Tahutmes III.	(R.E. 149–152; L.D.T. ii. 109–10).
Girgeh (?)	Granite cramp	(Rec. ix. 89).
Abydos	Temple of the kings	(M.A. vol. i.; C.T.K.; Ms. Q.G. 157, 165).
,,	Temple of Osiris	(P. Ab. ii.).

Hammamat	Stele, offering to Amen.	(Pr. M. vi. 1).
Koptos	Sandstone sphinx	(P. Kop. 15).
Medamot	Blocks	(C.N. ii. 291).
Karnak	N. pillars, hypostyle hall	(M.K. ii.; L.D. iii. 125 b–d).
,,	E. face ,, ,,	(M.K. ii.).
,,	N. and S. sides, hypostyle hall	(M.K. ii.; L.D. iii. 126–130; C.M. 290–302).
,,	W. face, hypostyle hall	(L.D. 124 b–d).
,,	Inscriptions edited	(Rec. xi. 52).
,,	Alabaster stele	(Rec. xxvii. 70).
Luqsor	On pillars of colonnade	(W.G. 422).
Qurneh	Temple	(L.D. iii. 131, 132; C.M. 149–51).
Medinet Habu	Back of stat. Amenp. I.	(M.D. 101; Ms. Q.G. 268).
Redesieh	Temple	(L.D. i. 101, iii. 139–41; Rec. xiii. 76–9).
,,	Rock steles	(L.D. iii. 138 n, o).
Gebeleyn	Inscrip. of Huy	(Rec. x. 134).
,,	Building (?)	(S.B.A. xv. 499).
Silsileh	Rock chapel	(C.N. 248).
,,	Stele	(R.E. 265–7).
,,	Quarry inscription	(R.E. 263–5; L.D. iii. 141).
Elephantine	Stele, temple of Khnum	(C.N. 223–5).
Aswan	Amenemapt inscriptions	(P.S. 109, 110; L.D. iii. 141 i, h).
Kalabsheh	King with Horus and Set	(G.D. 13).
Dakkeh	Inscription	(P.O.N. 525).
Qobban	Well	(R.P. viii. 78).
Dosheh	Stele, offering to Triad	(L.D. iii. 141 k).
Ibrim	Stele by Amenemapt	(Rec. xvi. 170).
Wady Halfa	Stele, 1st year	(B. Mus. 1180).
Sesebi	Temple	(L.D. 141).

Statues and portraits—

Statue	Vatican	(W.G. 425).
Statue, portion	Sorrento	(W.G. 425).
Statues, portions	Cairo (Abydos)	(M.A. 351, 352).
Statue, wooden	B. Mus. (Tomb)	(A.B. fig. 170).
Fragment	Florence	(S. Cat. F. 209).
Ushabtis, common		
Group: Amen and Mut	Karnak C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 151).
,, Amen and king	Luqsor	(W.G. 425).
Portraits	(R.A. 84; L.D. iii. 133, 296, 53–54).	

Restorations by Sety, after erasure of Amen, etc.

Karnak	Pylon IX.	(L.D. iii. 15, 61, 125a; C.N. ii. 191–2).
,,	Pylon X.	(C.N. ii. 189).
,,	Tahutmes III. temple, stele	(C.N. ii. 256; Ms. Q.G. 122, 127).
,,	Stele of Amenhotep II.	(Rec. xiii. 160).
,,	Obelisk of Hatshepsut	(L.D. iii. 23, 24).
Qurneh	Steles of Amenhotep III.	(P.S.T. x. xi.).
,,	Deir el Bahri	(E. Ob. 237).
Medinet Habu	Tahutmes III. temple	(L.D. iii. 202 d).
El Kab	Amenhotep III. temple	(T.A. i. iii.).
Amada	Tahutmes III. temple	(C.M. 45, 5).

Small objects.

Plan of gold mines, papyrus		(L.A. 22; C.M.O. ii.).
Papyri of 2nd and 3rd years		(P.P.R. 3, 21, 22).
Weight, grey granite, Saqqara	C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 328).
Stone and wood cramps	C. Mus., B. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 330).
Handle of a stick	P. Mus.	(P.L. pp. 156, 631).
Sa-amulet, wood	C. Mus.	
Heart amulet, green glaze	C. Mus.	(M.D. 48 a).
Granite altar	Carlsberg	(S.G.C. p. 144).
Altar	Miramar	
Base of altar	C. Mus.	(M.A. 1365).
Stele, Sety offering to Amenhotep I.	T. Mus.	(L. cat. T. 1466).
Scarabs, cylinder, and vases.		

Queen—TUAA.

Mother of Ramessu II.		(M.A. ii. 16).
Statue	Medinet Habu	(L.D.T. iii. 148).
Statue	Vatican	(Mon. Inst. ii. 40).
On colossus	Abu Simbel	(B.E. 373).
Portrait	,, ,,	(L.D. iii. 297, 55).
Head		(R.A. 127).
Name at Ramesseum		(Q.R. xxix.).
Name at Tanis		(Rec. ix. 18).
XII. statue reworked		(R.A. 128; P.T. i. 6–7; pl. ii. 11–12; xiv. 1).
Statue reappropriated		(A.S. ii. 195).
With Ram. II. on stele	Miramar (1152)	
Granite paint palette	(B. Mus.)	
Sons—Amen-nefer-neb-f.		(M.D. 73, 68; Rec. xviii. 121).

Ramessu, see next reign.

Daughter—Hentmara.

On statue	Vatican	(Mon. Inst. ii. 40).
Group with Ramessu II.	Abukir	(Rec. xii. 211).
Burial (or reburial)		(Salt Pap. 124, verso i. 11).

Worshipped—

By Ramessu II.	Qurneh	(L.D. iii. 150 c).
,,	Karnak hypostyle	(L.D. iii. 143 c).
,,	Chapel, Abydos	(M.A. i. 32).
By Siptah	Qurneh	(L.D. iii, 201 c).
In procession of kings' statues		(L.D. iii. 163).

The length of the reign of Sety is not fixed; two monuments give the 9th year, but the abundance of his works suggest a longer reign. The supposed evidence of its shortness, from the figure of Ramessu II. in his first year, is untrue, as that figure was added later (A.Z. xxxvii. 130). On the other hand, the somewhat vague data by dead reckoning of the reigns would suggest about 26 years of reign; or 20 years if "Menofres" is Ramessu I. (see family table of dynasty, p. 3).



FIG. 4.—Mummy of Sety I. Cairo Museum.

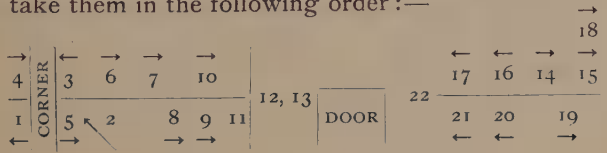
The character of Sety is one of the best in the history. His zeal for upholding the power of Egypt is worthy of the previous dynasty; and his pious regard for his predecessors exceeds that of any other king. His temple at Qurneh was for the worship of his father; his temple at Abydos was in honour of the primitive kings, whose tombs had become known to him; while his sculptors were busily engaged throughout the land in carefully recarving the name of Amen wherever it had been erased during the dominance of the Aten. These restorations were exact, and carefully followed the traces of the original texts; the only insertion by Sety being in each case a single line, which never interferes with the original, stating that the restoration of the monuments was made by Sety. This work is in the strongest contrast to the mad piracies and destruction wrought by his son and grand-

son, which have deprived us of a large number of monuments.

The history of Sety opens with his first year, which shows that he was not coregent for any length of time. He began by a brief expedition to pacify Nubia, as we see by an inscription of Wady Halfa (B.M. stele 1180, end of Mesore), and then turned to the serious work of recovering Syria. On the north wall of the great hypostyle hall of Karnak is a grand series of scenes, covering over 200 feet of wall, along the outside. The outgoing and the return on the eastern half are both specified as being in the first year; but there is no date to the scenes on the western side of the doorway which divides the wall. As a war with the Tahennu on the west of Egypt is shown there, as well as a war with the Khita in northern Syria, it is almost certain that these sculptures belong to subsequent years. There is nothing to prove that scenes were not selected from the whole history of a king, to be recorded on his buildings; and the presence of a prince (even if inserted in the first carving) may easily be an exaggeration, or a pure invention, in his honour, when the carving was made perhaps ten or twenty years after the events. The arrangement of the wall is somewhat confused; but after comparing the names recorded and the directions of the scenes, it seems best to take them in the following order:—



FIG. 5.—Sety I., from his tomb. L.D. iii. 133.



The arrows show the direction of movement of the scenes; 1–5 are the war of the first year; 6–9 the return with the captives; 10 the presentation before Amen; 11–12 are the Tahennu (Libyan) war; 13–14 the Khita war; 15–18 the return with the captives to Amen. The references below are given to Rosellini, as being the most complete series of plates; but for full list of copies, see Rec. xi. 52, noting A.Z. xxxvii. 139. Sety started from Zahi on Epiphi 9 (Rec. i. 95), about the second week in May.

Scene 1. In the first year the king devastates the Shasu (Bedawin) from Zalu (the frontier of Egypt), to Pa-Kanâna (*Kanân*, 2 m. S.W. of Hebron). The Shasu all wear short jerkins and caps, and carry metal battle-axes like those used by the Egyptians in the XIIth dynasty. A lake is shown as being fed from a spring at the fort of Kanân, which points to the Wady Khulil being dammed to retain the water. This scene gives the raid across the south of Judea up to the hill country. (R.S. 48, 2.)

Scene 2. The king passes a reservoir and fort named after him, a second fort, a lake Absaqa, a third fort and reservoir of Sety, all the way chasing the Syrians, who seem to flee up into the next scene. This must represent the progress up the Jordan valley; unfortunately the forts being named after the king prevents our identifying the course. (R. S. 49, 2.)

Scene 3. Here the king comes to close quarters with the northerners, and obtains the submission of the fort of Ynuamu (*Yanuh*, near Tyre); the foes are all of the upper Syrian type, and are shown hiding in the forests. (R. S. 46, 2.)

Scene 4. The king here halts before turning back, at a fort named Kaduru by the lake . . . ma, the name of which is injured. As he here receives the submission of the men of Lemanen (Lebanon), who cut down great trees to send them by ship to Egypt for the temple of Amen, it must have been far north, and Lake Merom (Marma in Tahutmes' list) is probably the lake, and would agree to this inscription. The fort

of Kaduru is, then, the modern Hadireh, a fertile plain 6 m. west of Merom, Khazura in cuneiform.

Scene 5. The return with northern captives; the chiefs of Khalu (Palestine) are shown leaving a fort (name lost), and passing a fort with a reservoir Hu . . . tha, a lake Ba(?)rbatha, a fort named after Sety, and another lake of "sweet water." These are probably places down the coast road, but are too illegible to be identified.

Scene 6. Here Sety selects his captives, binding some and slaying others, probably in Palestine, preparing for the desert journey home.

Scene 7. Sety proceeds on his return, carrying some captives and dragging "the great chiefs of the Rutennu" (N. Palestine hills).

Scene 8.—Here Sety has picked up his southern captives of the beginning of the war, and drives before him the Shasu (Bedawin) and the chiefs of Khalu (the Palestine coast), while others are dragged behind him. He passes the "reservoir of Ain . . .," "the *migdol* of Sety, and reservoir Hupaina (?)," lastly the reservoir stores of the "fort of the lion," at which point he struck the coast, shown by a line of water full of fish. This last fort was probably at Rhinokorura, now *El Arish*.

Scene 9. At the end of the coast-line comes a long canal full of crocodiles, *Ta denat*, "the cutting," which separates Egypt from the desert; a canal which must have run from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean, on the line of the present Suez Canal. This position is shown by Zalu, probably the Greek site, the modern *Tell abu Sefe*, which lies to the east of the canal (P.T. ii. 106) in Sety's march. The canal is crossed at a fortified bridge, where is another reservoir of water, Hu pa . . . a; the repetition of this name suggests that Hu here is an adjective of the water in the reservoir, as being "drinkable." On the west of the canal a large body of Egyptians await the king with bouquets of flowers and rejoicings, "The priests, the ancients, the nobles of the south and the north . . . say, in adoring his majesty and exalting his prowess, Thou art come from the lands . . . thy falchion is on the

head of all lands, and their chiefs have fallen by thy sword."

Scene 10. Sety comes before the triad of Thebes, Amen, Mut, and Khonsu, leading lines of the northern captives, the Retennu, and presenting a magnificent booty of vases of gold and silver.

Scene 11. In the lower line is the same subject, but the captives are of the Shasu, or southern Syrians. The vases offered are of exactly the same forms as above, but they are said to be from the Retennu; and it is not very likely that the southern people, in a poorer land, had such magnificent spoils. These two offerings may well have been on different days of the triumph, so that there is no incongruity in figuring them as two scenes of dedication.

Scene 12. Sety holds a group of captives by the hair, and prepares to smite them with a mace.

Scene 13. Amen stands holding captive three rows of countries by cords; and below him a goddess holding three rows of captive towns. If we had a correct copy, the study of these names would be of much value; but as the copies are hopelessly different in their order, and the edition promised, "*à suivre*," Rec. 1889, p. 77, has never appeared, it is useless to consider them here.

On the opposite half of the wall, west of the door there are first *Scenes* 14, 15 of a war with the Tahennu or Libyans, which give some good typical heads of that people, but do not name anything of importance. Probably this was in some year later than the previous scenes.

Scene 16. Sety in his chariot drives before him two lines of Tahennu captives; and is stated to bring both Tahennu and Retennu to Amen.

Scene 17. Sety leads two similar lines of captives before the triad of Thebes, and presents a grand booty of vases of gold and silver, which are by their shapes apparently entirely from the Retennu.

Scene 18 is the only one left of the upper line of the wall; it shows Sety fighting the Amar or Amorites, and

attacking their city of Qedesh, N.W. of Merom. The little country scene of wooded hills, with a herdsman driving off his cattle, is noticeable.

Scene 19. Sety is here chasing the chariots of the Hittites before him; but there are no details named of the places.

Scene 20 is the return of Sety stepping into his chariot, grasping a group of captive Hittites, and followed by chariots containing other Hittite captives.



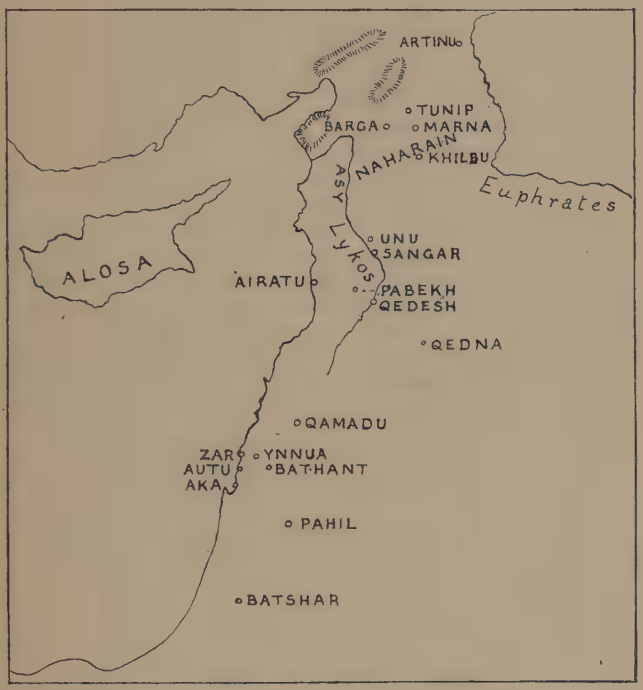
FIG. 6.—Sety I. smiting the Libyans. Karnak.

Scene 21. Sety leads two lines of "the great chiefs of the Retennu led by his majesty from his victories over the land of Kheta"; showing that the whole land of northern Palestine was called "the land of the Hittites," probably from their overlordship of the country. The distinction of the dress of the Retennu and Hittites is carefully preserved in the sculptures. The offerings of precious vases brought before the triad of Thebes are entirely of the usual Syrian styles.

Probably, however, such are largely due to western work, and may have been imported into Syria.

Scene 22 is a list of conquered towns, of which we have one good copy (L.D. iii. 129). These rows of towns are grasped by Amen, before whom the king is slaying a group of enemies, exactly as on scene 13. The upper two rows are southern, the next row western, the fourth row general names of people or countries, the fifth and bottom rows are of towns or localities. The extent of these we consider below. This great group of scenes refers, then, to the campaign of the first year, across the south of Judea, and up to the north of Galilee ; also to a war with the westerners, and probably a second Syrian campaign in some later year.

Beside the list above, there are also lists of places on a sphinx in the temple of Qurneh (L.D. iii. 131 a), and at Sesibi (L.D. iii. 141 l, m), Redesieh (L.D. iii. 139), and Abydos (M.A. i. 28 f). The last three are, however, useless from their bad state and the fewness of names, which are also too general, or not identified. We must turn to the other lists, of Karnak and Qurneh, to see the extent of the conquests of Sety. The general character of this king is so honourable in his works, that we are bound to credit his statements if we cannot show them to be wrong, In the fourth row at Karnak we reach exact statements in the names Khita (Hittites), Naharain (N. Syria), Retenu, upper (hill Palestine), Retenu, lower (plain Palestine), Sangart (or Sangar, *Segar*, a castle on Orontes, 43 m. N. Qedesh), Unum or Unu (R.S. 61), *El Awani*, and *Kefr Yun*, 7 N.W. of Segar ; fifth row, Qedshu (Qedesh, Lake Homs), Pabekh (*El Bukeiah*, plain 12 m. N.W. of Qedesh), Qedna (*Qatana*, 14 W.S.W. Damascus), Asy (Cyprus? or the Orontes, *Nahr el Asy*), Mannus (Mallos? or *Marna*, 9 m. N. of Aleppo); the list of 32 names after this is rather broken, and has no common ground with other lists or known places to show its region ; in the absence of any fixed points, it would be difficult to identify so many unknown sites.



SYRIA IN THE WARS OF SETY I.

Pages 16–17.

The list on the sphinx is more useful. It has several repetitions in it, which serve to show that it is a compilation of three lists, or more. It begins with the usual generalities, the Hanebu, the south land, etc. At No. 11 we reach exact statements: Khita (Hittites), Naharin (N. Syria), Alosa (Alashiya, Cyprus, or N. Syria), Aka (*Akka*), Bamait (Bamoth, a "high place"), Pahil (*Fahil*, Pella, 18 m. S. of Sea of Galilee), Bat-shar (Beth Shur, 4 N. Hebron?), Ynnua waters (Yanoah, by Tyre), Abamah, Anu-roza, Qamadu (Kumidi, *Kamid*, 29 S.E. Beyrut), Zar (Tyre), Autu (Uzu, *'Ezziyeh*, 6 S. Tyre, see M.A.E. 194), Bat-hant (Beth Anath, 17 S.E. Tyre), Qarma (a vineyard), Upper Retenu, Lower Retenu. A fresh list begins at No. 28, Mennus or Marnusa, which has been identified with Mallos in Cilicia, although it generally appears with inland Syrian sites, and it would seem more likely to be *Marna*, 10 m. N. Aleppo, with the ethnic suffix *Sha*. Aputha (unknown), Artinu (*Ardin*, 37°¼, 37°¼), Naharin (N. Syria), Qedshu (Qedesh), Tunep (*Tennib*, 18 N. Aleppo), Thekhsi, Pa-bakh (*El Bukeiah*, 12 N.W. Qedesh). At 36 a fresh list begins with Thekhsi, Asy (usually supposed to be Cyprus, but here inland in Syria, and perhaps the Orontes, *Nahr el Asy*), Assu, Tunep (*Tennib*), Arethnu (*Ardin*?), Pa-bekh (*El Bukeiah*), Mennus (*Marna*, 10 N. Aleppo), Barga (*Tell Berki*, 20 N.W. Aleppo), Runuru. It seems from these lists that Sety claimed the subjection of North Syria up to the Bay of Issus, including the coast of Palestine, and across to the north of Aleppo, but not to the east of the inland valley of the Orontes.

There is nothing impossible in this; these lists are not copied from any earlier monument known to us; and if the compiler was romancing, he would have included more important places, such as Karkemish and Aleppo. It seems only reasonable to accept the lists as a summary of the acquisitions of this reign.

Of the history of the latter part of the reign, the records at the mines are the only dated monuments, and those do not go beyond the ninth year. As we

have seen in the chronology of the dynasty, about twenty years is likely for the length of this reign. The whole of the supposed data from the figures of Ramessu II. or other princes in scenes are useless, as we have no guarantee of their real date or exactness. The lengths of 51, 55, or 59 years in the Greek lists are impossible, as they would imply that Sety's heir was not born till he was over 60.

The monuments of Sety extend from the east of Jordan, and the Sinai mines, to distant Sesebi in Nubia, beyond the old frontier at Semneh. At Sinai the mining industry was pushed, and one stele of the seventh year remains (M.S.N. 374; W.R.S. 110); also a stele to Hathor and scene of offering to Ptah.

In the Delta there are no important works except at Heliopolis, which seems to have been largely rebuilt. Nor in Middle Egypt is there much, even at Memphis. Of the Apis burial at Saqqara, only a fragment of the chapel was found. At Speos Artemidos some carving was done, and Sety placed his name where that of Tahutmes III. has stood before.

One of the finest works of the reign was the noble temple at Abydos, built by Sety for the worship of the early kings, whose tombs had been brought to notice at that time. One of the largest of the tombs, that of king Zer, had been cleared and made into a shrine of Osiris, perhaps in the XVIIIth dynasty, as the earliest of the pottery offering jars seem to be as old. A natural rise close to the tombs seems to have been supposed to contain a tomb, as it was thickly heaped over with pottery offering jars; and, being the only point visible from a distance, it was adopted as the objective of the great temple, whose axis points directly towards it. The temple appears to have been originally designed of a usual type, with a clear passage through it, and a back doorway leading out to a back pylon in the temenos, and so to the royal tombs; but the plan was altered during the building, and the back halls were built on at the side, thus

making the plan unsymmetrical (C.T.K. 14, xxiii. xxv.). The plan of the temple is familiar. First is seen the outer court, then the two great halls of columns, and after those the breadth is divided into seven chapels ; the middle one for Amen ; to the south those for Harem-akhti, Ptah, and Sety ; to the north for Osiris, Isis, and Horus. The chapel of Osiris is a through passage leading to halls with figures of the various Osiride emblems and other shrines ; and, as originally planned, this led further to the long corridor containing the



FIG. 7.—Sety I. offering. Abydos.

register of the early kings, the hall for starting the processions, and the exit towards the royal tombs. The sculptures of this temple are the finest known of this age ; and though the real vitality of the earlier work does not appear, yet they attract and please by technical finish, and a somewhat mournful grace. Sety also did some work in the temple of Osiris, where one slab of sandstone was found with his name.

At Karnak is the great work by which Sety is best

known. Though his father must have designed the great hall of columns, or perhaps taken up a great design of Horemheb for the re-establishment of the glory of Amen, yet it fell to Sety to carry out the larger part of the work. The whole of the axial avenue of columns—the largest of all—and the northern half of the hall, were finished by him; and it seems not un-



FIG. 8.—Great hall of columns. Karnak.

likely that the whole hall was built by Sety, though the southern columns were sculptured by his son. In area this hall is only the same as the roofed parts of the temple of Abydos; a dozen of the pyramids at Saqqara each cover as much ground, and far surpass it in amount of material; and the large pyramids at Gizeh, Dahshur, and elsewhere are beyond all comparison

with it in the amount of work; or, looking to modern times, the cathedral of Milan roofs a larger area with only forty columns instead of a hundred and forty. The only special feature of this hall is its great defect —that the columns are too numerous, and are also far too thick and massive for the spaces; and the cause of this lies in the weakness of the sandstone used for the columns, which is unsuited for work on such a scale. The size that strikes us is not the grandeur of strength, but the bulkiness of disease. Many of the columns have crushed with their own weight, and when one goes over a whole row fall like ninepins, as in 1899 (A.S. i. 123). The sculptures on the outside of the great hall we have described above.

The other great Theban work was the temple at Qurneh for Ramessu I., which was also taken over and completed by Ramessu II. for Sety. The pylons and walls of the two courts have disappeared; but the front colonnade and the mass of chambers are in almost complete condition. The plan has a sacred cell and is not of the processional type of older temples. The middle is occupied by a small hall surrounded by chambers, and a shrine at the end of it; and on either side, entirely isolated from the middle group, is another hall with subsidiary chambers. The sculptures are much like the work of the temple at Abydos; but the coarser material of soft sandstone, instead of smooth limestone, has prevented such fine execution. The beginning of the Ramesseum was also a work of Sety, as we shall see in the next reign.

One of the most interesting works of this reign is the temple on the road to the mines of Jebel Zubara, a track which starts from Redesieh, a village nearly opposite to Edfu. At about 36 miles from the Nile, about a third of the way to the mountains and the Red Sea, stands a small temple, mainly cut in the rock and partly built on in front (C.V.O. ii.; M.S.N. 375). Three long inscriptions here give details about the mining enterprises. In the ninth year of his reign, at the end of November when the cold season had just

begun, Sety inquired about the deserts, and wished to visit the gold mines. Struck with the difficulty of water supply, and the hardships of travelling there, he gathered workmen and made a cistern, getting a great abundance of water, like the Nile springs at Elephantine, which lightened the cattle of the nomads. He also ordered the overseer of the masons and sculptors to excavate the temple (L.D. iii. 140 b). From the phrases it seems that this was a cistern which reached to some springs; and that it was used by nomadic herdsmen for watering their cattle; it is unlikely that it actually irrigated the country, and the text seems to refer to cattle (determined with horns) rather than to pasturage. A second and third tablet refer to the same subject (R.P. viii. 69–74).

A papyrus map has been preserved, which is the oldest example of map-making known at present. It shows two parallel valleys amid the mountains, with a winding valley joining them. At a corner is a cistern of water, and a round-topped stele of Sety; opposite to that are the openings of four galleries in the rock, and others are in an adjoining hill. This is a part of the map of the gold mines, which was necessary as a record for official use; perhaps the stele of Sety may yet be found, and serve to identify the exact locality here figured.

The great building works involved enormous quarrying, the records of which remain at Gebeleyn (Rec. x. 134) and Silsileh (R.E. 263–7).

At Kalabsheh the temple appears to have been begun by Sety, who is shown between Horus and Set (G.D. 13), as on scenes at Heliopolis and Karnak (L.D. 124). The triads in recesses there are like those at Redesieh. The other Nubian remains are but slight, until we reach the southern limit, where the columns at Sesebi show that an important temple has existed there.

The tomb of Sety in the Biban el Meluk at Thebes is the largest tomb of that cemetery, and for the fineness of its work and its completion, it is justly the most

celebrated. It is in the eastern branch of the valley where all the other tombs of this dynasty were excavated. The theory that a great rock cutting had been made to gain access to this valley is baseless; the whole of the present ground is entirely natural,



FIG. 9.—Egyptian plan of gold mines. L.A. 22.

except a few feet of grading away a low waterfall. The tomb had been opened in the XXth dynasty in order to use it as a store place for other royal mummies; then these mummies and that of Sety were taken to the tomb of Anhapu, and the entrance to the

tomb of Sety was carefully closed, so that its existence was not suspected until it was opened by Belzoni, 18th Oct. 1817. The body of Sety was removed from the tomb of Anhapu to the tomb of Amenhotep I.; thence to the great deposit by Pinezem II. at Deir el Bahri, and lastly to Cairo in 1881, where it has been unwrapped and photographed.

The tomb itself is over 300 feet long, beside a winding passage in the rock below it, which has never been finished. The numbers here refer to the plan in Baedeker. A steep flight of steps leads to corridor I. with a long hymn to Ra, recited at his setting; another long flight of steps, II., continues the hymn, and begins the Book of *Am Duat*, or the Underworld. In corridor III. is the journey of the sun in the 4th and 5th hours of the night. Next, at IV., a deep dry pit opens across the whole passage, made to arrest the storm floods, and prevent water from reaching the tomb. This pit stood open to a depth of 30 feet when Belzoni entered the tomb; and on the opposite wall was a small opening 2 feet wide forced through the wall, doubtless when the tomb was opened to remove the mummy of Sety. Around the top of the pit are figures of the king and gods.

The first hall, V., with four pillars, shows the passage of the sun through the 4th and 5th gates of the night, from the Book of Gateways. The well-known figures of the four races of man are on the left wall. The hall VI., to which V. leads, shows the sun in the 9th, 10th, and 11th hours of the night from the Book of *Duat*.

From the side of hall V. a flight of steps descends, in the same direction as before, to corridors VII. and VIII., which are covered with scenes and inscriptions of the Book of Opening the Mouth, the ceremonies needful to give the spirit full possession of the statues of the king. In room IX. is the king before the gods. The great hall, X., with six pillars, has scenes of the sun passing the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd hours in the underworld (*Duat*), and the 1st, 2nd, and 4th of the twelve

gates. In this room a stairway descends to a passage which goes downward in the rock for over 300 feet, and has never been finished. This passage was walled across near the top, and over it were slabs of flooring continuous with the chamber; on these stood the alabaster sarcophagus, the cover of which was found broken up at the entrance to the tomb.

On one side of hall X. is a small chamber, XI., with the 3rd gate of the underworld. On the other side is another small chamber, XII., with the legend of the destruction of mankind by Hathor, for their rebellion against Ra (R.P. vi. 105). A large hall, XIII., also opens from hall X. at the side, and has the passage



FIG. 10.—Tomb of Sety I. Hapy, Duatmutf, Kebhsenuf.

of the sun through the 6th, 7th, and 8th hours of the night. A remaining hall, XIV., beyond hall X., is unfinished. Thus it appears that the subjects are in irregular order of the hours and the gates, and one hour and seven gates are not described. In the unfinished room, XIV., was found a mummified bull; in the hall, X., with the sarcophagus, were large wooden statues; and scattered all about these halls was a profusion of ushabti figures of glazed stone, blue glazed ware, and carved wood, which are now in many different museums. (See M.A.F. ii.; Belz. T. i. 359– . .)

The alabaster sarcophagus, now in the Soane Museum, London, is closely covered with hieroglyphs

and scenes, inside and out, engraved in the stone, and filled with blue copper frit. The greater part of the scenes are those of the Book of the Twelve Gates; there are also portions of the Book of the Dead; and on the bottom is a large figure of the goddess Nut. A facsimile of the whole, by Bonomi,



FIG. 11.—Cylinder, rings and scarab of Sety I. F.P. Coll.

is in *The sarcophagus of Oimenepthah*; and a translation in R.P. x. 71–134, xii. 1–35).

The only queen known in this reign is Tuaa, of whom many figures exist as the mother of Ramessu II. The best statue is in the Vatican (*Mon. de l'Inst.* ii. 40; *Annali*, ix. 167); but probably the best portrait is that from Tanis (C. Mus.; R.A. 127). An old seated figure of a XIIth dynasty princess at Tanis was reworked, the face altered, the head-dress recut, and the thumbs narrowed, while the re-attribution of it to Tuaa was put on the side (R.A. 128; P.T. i. 6–7; pls. ii.

xiv.). The titles of Tuaa name her as the heiress, divine wife, and royal mother.

The sons of Sety are doubtful, owing to the vanity of his successor Ramessu. There was certainly one older son, and probably two such. One son had *neb* in his name, which is thought to be "the king's chief son Amen-nefer-neb-f," who is named at Sehel (M.D. 73, 68); this is doubted, but there seems quite room enough for this name in the scene on the north wall of the hypostyle hall (L.D. iii. 128 a), where he occurs following the chariot of his father. The figure of Ramessu II. on this wall is clearly a later insertion by himself. See the whole discussed in A.Z. xxxvii. 137.



FIG. 12.—Tuaa, from her statue. L.D. iii. 297.

One daughter, Hent-ma-ra, appears on the side of Tuaa's statue in the Vatican. The crowd of sons and daughters attributed to Sety in the *Livre des Rois* are doubtless those of Ramessu II.

The officials known of this reign are as follows:—

Any (?), prince of Kush (L.D. iii. 138 n).
Amenemapt, prince of Kush; Aswan (L.D. 141 h; P.S. 109); Dosheh (L.D. 141 k); Ibrim (Rec. xvi. 170).
Amenmes, scribe, slate palette, B. Mus. 12,778.
Pasar, vizier (L.D. iii. 132 n–r; Pr. M. xxx.).
Hormin, Louvre, C. 213 (P.R. ii. 10), scene as Pasar.
Panubu, chief archer; Redesieh (L.D. iii. 138 o).
Huy, scribe of quarrymen; Gebeleyn (Rec. x. 134).
Huy-shera, scribe of gold; Stockholm, stele 25 (Lb. D. 882).
Ruru, studkeeper; P. Mus. C. 92 (P.R. 20).
Ruma, scribe of troops; B. Mus. 146.
Userhat, scribe of guard; C. Mus. (M.A. 1137).
Baka, foreman; Turin stele (L.T. 1549).

Nianuy, official of Temple of Sety (P.R. ii. 22).
Dudua, scribe of temple of Amen (C.M. 191 i).
Hornefer, chief priest (?) of Sety (P.R. ii. 110).
Ned . . b, royal fanbearer in temple of Sebek, pedestal, C. Mus.

XIX. 3. USER·MAAT·RA SOTEP·EN·RA



1300–1234 B.C.

RA·MESSU (II.) MERY·AMEN



Mummy and coffin, Cairo (Ms. M. 556, 765, xi. b, xiv.–xvi.).
Tomb, No. 7 in valley of Kings' Tombs (M.A.F. iii. 31–4; L.D. iii. 172 g).

Nahr el Kelb	Steles	(L.D. iii. 197 a, b, c).
Saadiyeh (Bashan)	Stele	(A.Z. xxxi. 100).
Sarabit el Khadem	Steles and doorway	(W.R.S. 112–6).
,,	Vases, menats, B. Mus.	(W.R.S. 126–9).
Abukir	Granite triad, sphinx	(Rec. xii. 211; A.S. v. 114, 116).
,,	R. II. and Hentmara	
Alexandria	Sandstone pyramid	(L.D.T. i. 3).
Schedia	Blocks of stone	(My. E. 146).
Kom el Abqâin	Block	(A.S. v. 130).
Kom el Hisn	Groups and statues	(G.N. 78, 82).
Kom Zimran	Block	(G.N. 80).
Qantara	Base of hawk	(Pr. M. xix.; P.N. 104).
Tanis	Obelisks	(R.E. 294–7; P.T. i. vii.–xi.).
,,	Statues	(P.T. i. 22–5, xiv.; 4 in C. Mus.; fragment, Berlin, 2274).
,,	Steles	(R.E. 67–70; P.T. ii. ii.–iii.; Rev. A. xi. 169, iv.; R.P. iv. 35).
,,	Shrines, etc.	(P.T. i. and ii.).
Delta	Palace, *Ankhuast*	(Rec. xix. 89).
Nebesheh	Two statues	(P.N. 8).
,,	Statue of Uati	(P.N. 7, 13).
Qantir	Blocks	(N.G. 22–3).
Thmuis-Mendes	Inscriptions	(M.D. 45 c; N.A. 18).
Semenud	Column	(N.Y. 26).

Tell Mokdam	Statue	(N.A. 28–31).
Tell el Maskhuta	Triad, granite	(Pr. M. xix.; P.T. i. xvi. 3).
,,	Sphinxes, etc.	(N.P. 2, 4, 11, xii.; P.T. i. xvi. 4; A.Z. xxi. 43–53; xxiii. 45).
Tell Rotab	Inscription	(N.G. 24).
Saft el Henna	Statue	(N.G. 5).
Bubastis	Statues and steles	(N.B. 34, 37–44).
,,	Usurpations, etc.	(N.B. 36).
,,	Granite column	(B. Mus.).
Belbeis	Block	(N.Y. 22).
Benha	Granite lion, B. Mus.	(L.D.T. i. 221).
,,	Blocks	(B.R. i. 10, i. ii.).
,,	Quartzite base, C. Mus.	(Seen F.P.)
Terraneh	Block	(N.Y. 60).
Tell el Yehudiyeh	Statue, etc.	(N.Y. 9, 10; front, ii.; xi. 21; L. cat. H. No. 484).
Heliopolis	Obelisks, etc.	(C.M. 444–6; G.O. 134, 130; A.Z. xix. 116; N.Y. 65–6; L.D.T. i. 5).
,,	Great well mentioned, P. Mus. stele, C. 94	(P.R. ii. 50).
,, near,	Blocks	(N.Y. 66).
Gizeh	Blocks and stele	(L.D.T. i. 127; My. E. 260).
,,	Two steles by Sphinx, P. Mus.	(M.S. Ms. 96; V.P. iii. p. 117).
Memphis	Statue largest	(L.D. iii. 142; S.B.A. x. 452).
,,	Granite statue	(S.B.A. x. 456).
,,	Granite fist	(B. Mus.).
,,	Statues of Ptah	(Rec. xiv. 174).
,,	Temple	(M.D. 31; A.Z. vii. 2; A.S. iii. 26–30).
Serapeum	Eight Apis burials	M.S. 12; Rec. xxi. 71–2; B.R. i. viii. 1; P. Ins. iii. 79).
,,	Base of granite statue	(M.M. 445).
Atfih	Stone in mosque	(My. E. 397).
Illahun	Graffiti	(P.I. 4).
Gurob	Groups of objects	(P.I. xviii.).
Herakleopolis	Temple	(N.A. 9, 10, i. ii. v. P.E.).
Etneh by Maghaga	Inscription	(S.B.A. vii. 176).
Antinoe	Temple	(Rev. A. iii. xxxix. 77; A.Z. viii. 24).

Eshmuneyn	Statue, granite	(Ms. Q.G. 5).
Tell el Amarna	Name in quarry	(P.A. 4).
Ekhmim	Column	(E.L. 85).
El Birbeh	Stele and statue	(Rec. xvi. 125).
Mesheikh	Temple	(S.B.A. vii. 172).
,,	Stele and statues	(M.D. p. 26–7; S.B.A. vii. 172).
Abydos	Temple of Osiris	(Ab. iii.).
,,	Temple of Sety I.	(M.A. vol. i. 5–9; C.T.K.).
,,	Temple of Ram. II.	(M.A. vol. ii.).
,,	Portal of Ram. II.	(M.A. vol. ii. p. 34; iii. 419).
,,	Statues	(M.A. 353; D.E. iv. 37).
,,	Fragments	(Rec. xi. 90; R.E. xxix.).
Dendereh	Bronze vase	(C. Mus. 3445; P.D. xxiv. 6).
,,	Blocks	(D.D. iii.).
Nubt	Temple of Set	(P.N.B. 70).
Koptos	Triad	(P. Kop. xvii.).
,,	Steles	(P. Kop. xviii. xix.; Rec. ix. 100).
,,	Baboon, etc.	(P. Kop. 16).
Medamot	Blocks, re-used	(C.N. ii. 290).
Karnak	Great hall	(M.K. ii.; C.N. ii. 36–204).
,,	Enclosed earlier temple	(M.K. ii.; L.D. iii. 147–8).
,,	Building E. of hall	(C.N. ii. 256–8).
,,	Statues before N. temple	(M.K. i.; My. E. 503).
,,	Young bust	(See phot. fig. 14).
,,	Temple of Mut	(B.G.M.).
,,	Building S. of lake	(My. E. 503).
,,	Poem of Pentaur	(M.K. 48–51; R.E. 206 – 31; B.R. 29–32; R.P. ii. 67).
,,	Hittite Treaty	(Rec. xiii. 153; xiv. 67; R.P. iv. 27).
,,	Pillar, C. Mus.	
,,	Colossus, temple R. III.	(B.E. 242).
	Colossi and statues	(Rec. xxvii. 70).
Luqsor	Additions to temple	(L.D. iii. 149; R.S. 104–7; Rec. xv. 55; A.S. i. 191).
,,	Obelisks	(R.S. 117; G.O. 77–95).

Luqsor	Bases with cynocephali	(C. Mus. ; P. Mus.; R.N.S. p. 54 ; Pr. A. 61).
,,	Poem of Pentaur	(B.R. 40–2, 53 ; R.E. 232–48).
,,	Conquest inscrip.	(Rec. xvi. 49).
,,	Small temple	(Rec. xvi. 52).
Qurneh	Finished temple	(L.D. iii. 132, 150–2 ; B.R. 51–2 ; C.M. 150–2 ; P. Ins. i. 145–6).
Ramesseum	Historical reliefs	(L.D. iii. 153–66).
,,	Religious reliefs	(L.D. iii. 162–4, 7, 9).
,,	Horoscope	(L.D. iii. 170–1).
,,	List of sons	(L.D. iii. 168).
,,	Plan, etc.	(L.D. i. 88–90; Q.R. i. ii. iv. xv.).
,,	Bust, B. Mus.	(D.E. ii. 32 ; A.B. 39).
,,	Ostraka	(S.H.O.).
Deir el Bahri	Restored temple	(N.D.B. introd. 11).
Medinet Habu	Re-used blocks	(D.K.O. ; B.G.I. i. 440 ; My. E. 466).
El Kab	Chapel	(L.D. i. 101 ; L.D.T. iv. 38 ; B.Rs. 224).
,,	On destroyed temple of Sebek	(C.M. 140).
,,	Stele	(L.D. iii. 174 a).
,,	Inscription on temple Amenp. III.	(W.G. 450).
,,	Inscription of Taa, 29th year	(Rec. xv. 68).
Silsileh	Rock shrines, etc.	(L.D. iii. 175 a–e ; C.M. 102, 3, 122 *bis*, iii.).
,,	Steles	(L.D. iii. 174 f. ; C.M. 115, 16, 18, 19).
Ombos	Stones	(A.Z. xxi. 78 ; P.O.N. 479).
Elephantine	Bust (B. Mus.)	(A.B. 40).
,,	Quay	(S.B.A. xi. 230 ; B. Rs. 246 ; M.I. i. 113, 117, 118).
,,	Statue	(B. Mus.).
Aswan	Stele, 2nd year	(L.D. iii. 175 g ; R.E. 252).
,,	Steles, 33rd and 40th yr.	(M.I. i. 88, 62 ; M.D. 71, 33).
,,	Family stele	(L.D. iii. 175 h).

(*Private inscriptions, see below.*)

Beit el Wally	Temple	(C.M. 61–74; L.D. iii. 176–7; G.D. 12–5; C.N. 145–55. Casts B. Mus. A.B. 38).
Gerf Huseyn (=Kirsheh)	Temple	(C.M. 56–7; L.D. iii. 178; G.D. 27–32).
Qubban	Stele	(Rec. viii. 122; x. 60; xiv. 96; Pr. M. xxi.; R.P. viii. 75).
,,	Blocks	(My. E. 538).
Wady Sebuâ	Temple	(L.D. iii. 179–82; G.D. 42–7; Pr. M. xx.).
,,	Statue	(P.M. xx.)
Derr	Temple	(L.D. iii. 183–4; C.M. 40–3; G.D. 50–2).
Ibrim	Rock shrine	(C.N. i. 81–2; L.D. iii. 184 d).
Abu Simbel	Great temple	(L.D. iii. 185–91, 194–5; C.M. 11–38 *bis*; C.N. 56–77; G.D. 57–61; Rec. viii. 120).
,,	Smaller temple	(L.D. iii. 192–3; C.M. 3, 5–9; G.D. 54–6; C.N. 43–55).
,,	Small chamber	(Edwards, 1000 miles, 478–520).
,,	Stele, 35th yr., added in temple	(L.D. iii. 194; R.P. xii. 81–91).
,,	Steles (all different)	(L.D. 195 a [=Rec. x. 60], b, c, d, 196 a; C.M. ix. 2; x. 4).
Faras (=Mashakit)	Rock shrine, etc.	(C.N. i. 38, 40, 609).
Aksheh (=Serreh)	Temple	(L.D. iii. 191 m, n; Rec. xvii. 163).
Napata	Temple	(L.L. 222).

Statues (*not quoted above*).

Seated, black granite	Turin	(L.D. iii. 297, 58; L.T. No. 1380).
Standing, syenite	Turin	(L.T. No. 1381).
Two standing and two seated	C. Mus.	
Kneeling, black granite	Alexandria	(A.S. v. 114).
Seated	Alexandria	(A.S. v. 121).
Head, black granite	C. Mus.	(No. 166).
Head, syenite	C. Mus.	(N.B. xv.).
Head, grey granite	B. Mus.	(37,886).
Seated	Vatican.	(W.G. 459).
Wooden figure	B. Mus.	(A.B. pl. 47).

Bronze kneeling figure	B. Mus.	(32,747).
Seated, diorite, usurped	P. Mus.	(R.M.L. No. 20).
Seated	Alexandria	(L.D. iii. 142 a–c).
Bronze ushabti	P. Mus.	

At Karnak, Luqsor, and the Ramesseum, see above.

Monuments (*unnamed sources*).

Group R. II. and Ra-hor-akhti	C. Mus.	
Pillars	C. Mus.; P. Mus., D. 62.	
Architraves, Berlin, 151	C. Mus.	
Obelisk	Rome, Villa Mattei	(G.O. 134).
,,	,, Iseum	(S.M.E. I. Tav. vii.).
,,	Florence, Boboli Garden	(G.O. 137).
,,	Berlin	(Berl. Cat. p. 124).
,, fragments	Marseille (Ms. C.M. 1); Collegio Romano (G.O. 136); F. P. Coll.	
Altar bases, Ram. II., III., VII., X.	Marseille	(Ms. C.M. 5).
	P. Mus.	(R.M.L. p. 210, D. 61; L.A. 14).

Scene before Hapi with Khaemuas. Miramar.
Stele before Hathor. Turin (L.T. 1462).
,, Horus. (Rousset Bey Coll.).
,, Osiris with Tuaa. Miramar, 1152.
Lion, limestone. Luqsor Gardens.
Trial piece and sketch. B. Mus. 308. C. Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 319).
Panel, figure with names of Sety I. and Ram. II. Turin.
Panel with young Ram. II. kneeling on *heb*. C. Mus. (Rec. iv. 140).
Two reliefs of young Ram. II. P. Mus. (P.L. 2, 4; R.M.L. p. 71; P.C.E. 706).
Sandstone, fragments, with Nubian Amen (R.N.M. p. 132).
Statue of Ptah, fragment. Berlin, 2274.
Pectoral. M.S. iii. 9.
Blue-glazed cynocephalus plaque. Lee Coll. (L. cat. H., No. 126).
Bronze box with figures. Leyden (L.M.E. p. 98, H. 562).
Gilded vases. B. Mus. 35,273–4.
Handle of stick. P. Mus. (P.L. pp. 157, 632).
Palette. B. Mus. (Synopsis 1850,229).
Sphinxes, carnelian. Vienna; B. Mus.; F.P. Coll.
Gold ring with horse in P. Mus. (Ms. A. p. 314, fig. 298).

Scarabs and rings, very common.

Papyri, etc.—Wine jars from the Ramesseum—Yr. II. 1, III. 5, IV. 6, V. 9, VI. 7, VII. 9, VIII. 6, XIII. XIX. XXIX. XXXIX. LVII. LVIII. 1 each (S.H.O. 19–38; A.Z. xxi. 34).

Yr. VIII. Mesore 25, workmen pap. Turin (P.P.T. 41, xxix.).

Yr. XII. Khoiak 13, revenue pap. Turin (Lieblein, Christiania Vid. Sels. Forh. 1875).

Yr. XLVI. Paophi 14, law pap. Berlin (A.Z. xvii. 72).

Yr. LII. Pauni 27 and on, revenue pap. Leyden (i. 350).

Yr. LXVI. Athyr 5, certificate of Neferhotep, Ost. C. Mus. (M.A. 1497).

(*Religious.*)—Ostraka, C. Mus. (Dy. O. 25204, 25220); pap. Turin (P.P.T. 83, lxv.).

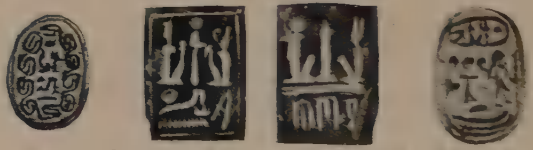


FIG. 13.—Scarabs and plaque of Ramessu II. F.P. Coll.

(*Historical.*)—Sallier ii., Kheta war (R.P. ii. 65).

Sallier iii., poem of Pentaur (R.P. ii. 65; Rev. Eg. iii. 149–vii. 182).

Anastasi i., travels in Syria (S. Pap. 35–62; R.P. ii. 107). Anastasi ii. iv., Kheta embassy (C.E. ii. 151). Nubian war, Ostrakon, C. Mus. (Dy. O. 25219). Letters, Bologna paps. (L.K.R.), P. Mus. (W.H.T. x.–xiv.), on building temple of Mut, Turin (P.P.T. 9–14). New moon feast (B.T. 250).

Worshipped by himself, Abu Simbel (L.D. iii. 191 h), Aksheh (L.D. iii. 191 n); by Merenptah, Silsileh (C.M. 103); by Siptah, Qurneh (L.D. iii. 201 c); by Qen (Rec. i. 136, iii. 103); tomb 20, Qurneh (L.D. iii. 199 h); by Thaa (S. cat. F. 1598). Priests: Rames, stele, B. Mus. 139 (Lb. D. 933); Ahmes, Berlin sarcoph. (Lb. D. 1311); Samtaui-tafnekht and Merenptah, Serapeum stele 413 (Lb. D. 1217); Serapeum stele 427, P. Mus.

Priests of the Ramesseum: Aahmes (B.T. 910); Hun (R.M.A. xxxvi.).

Queens—

NEFERTARI, MERY MUT.

Tomb in valley of Queens' Tombs found	(1904).
Behtim, base of statue	(N. Y. 65).
Luqsor, on statues of Ramessu	(Fig. 32).
Silsileh, adoring Taurt, Tahuti, and Nut	(L.D. iii. 175 c).
Abu Simbel, great temple, scenes	(C.M. v. 3, 4, vi. 1, 2, 4, vii. 1, 2, viii. 1, 2).
,, ,, stele	(L.D. iii. 189 b).
,, second temple, front	(L.D. iii. 192).
,, on colossus	(B.E. 373).

Abu Simbel, honoured by Nekhtu (L.D. iii. 195 d; C.M. 4, iii.).
Statue of black granite, Vatican.
Statuette, carnelian (P. Mus. S. h. series).
Portraits (L.D. iii. 193; 297, No. 59).
Alabaster vase mounted in gold (F.P. Coll.).
Scarabs (P. Sc. 1604–9).
In list of Osirians (L.K. xxii.).

AST·NEFERT.
Silsileh with R. II. and children (L.D. iii. 174 e).
,, named as mother of Khaemuas (C.M. 120 a).
,, adoring Taurt, Tahuti, and Nut (C.M. 103, iii.).
Aswan with R. II. and children (L.D. iii. 175 h).
Group with sons (P. Mus.) (P.L. 633).
Scarab (P. Sc. 1610).

MAAT-NEFERU-RA, princess of Kheta
Tanis on colossus (L.D. iii. 196 a).
Plaque, Tell el Yehudiyeh, New York (P.T. i. v. 35).
(P.Sc. 1603).

Sons—

1. *Amenherkhopshef*, Ramesseum list (L.D. iii. 168).
Abu Simbel, in chariot (C.M. 14).
,, on colossi (B.E. 373, 377).
Karnak (C.N. ii. 123).
On statue, Turin (L.D. iii. 297, 60).
Probably same as *Amen herunmif*, named as "first son of the king" at Beyt el Wally (L.D. iii. 176 a, e; C.M. 62, 63, 68, 71).

2. *Ramessu*, born of Astnefert, group (P. Mus.) (P.L. 633).
Ramesseum list (L.D. iii. 168).
Silsileh, stele (L.D. iii. 174 e).
Aswan, stele (L.D. iii. 175 h).
Abu Simbel, in chariot (C.M. 14).
,, statue (B.R. i. v. 2, col. 2; A.Z. xxiii. 80).
,, ushabtis, year xxvi. (M.S. 13).

3. *Pa·ra·her·unmif*, Ramesseum list (L.D. iii. 168).
Abu Simbel, in chariot (C.M. 14).
,, on statue (B.E. 377).
Scarab (N.S. xxxv. 20).

4. *Khaemuas*, born of Astnefert (L.D. iii. 175 e).
Bubastis, on statue of R. II. (N.B. 43).
Mummy. C. Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 441).
Gizeh, tomb (M.D. p. 11; Ms. S.N. 426).
,, ushabtis (Pr. M. xx.; M.S. 10, 13).
,, canopic jar (M.D. 36 d).
Serapeum, canopic jar, Apis 3 (M.S. 10).
,, Apis 3, tie amulet (P.L. 539; M.S. 11).

Serapeum, Apis 3, carnelian bead (P.L. 525; M.S. 11).
,, ,, 9, tie amulet (P.L. 527; M.S. 20).
,, ,, ,, oval amulet (P.L. 540; M.S. 20).
,, ,, ,, *uaz* amulet (P.L. 541; M.S. 20).
,, burial of Apis (M.S. 8–13; B.R. i. 8).
,, scene, Apis 2 (M.S. 8).
Memphis, syenite figure (B.R. v. i.).
,, relief (P. Mus.) (P.L. 3).
Karnak, war scene, statues (C.N. ii. 123; Rec. xxvii. 71).
Ramesseum, siege of Dapur (L.D. iii. 166).
,, list of princes (L.D. iii. 168).
El Kab, visit in XLII yr. R. II. (B.T. 1128).
,, scene (L.D. iii. 174 d).
Silsileh, stele (L.D. iii. 174 e).
,, stele with Astnefert (L.D. iii. 175 e; C.M. 120 a).
Aswan, stele with Astnefert (L.D. iii. 175 h).
Beyt el Wally, siege of Dapur (L.D. iii. 176 b, = C.M. 71).
Group (P. Mus.) (P.L. 633).
Sed heb festivals (B.R. i. 82, v.; 83, iii.; M.D. lxxi. 32, 33; L.D. iii. 175 f; C.M. 115, 116).
Plaque (Golenischeff Coll.).
Double feather amulet (F.P. Coll.).
Statues, granite, Vienna (A.Z. xviii. 49).
,, ,, (B. Mus.) (M.S.N. 426).
In slave papyrus, Leyden (L. Mon. 179; C.E. i. 3).

5. *Mentu·her·khopshef*, Ramesseum list (L.D. iii. 168).
Siege of Dapur (L.D. iii. 166).
Usurped figure, Bubastis (N.B. 43).
6. *Neb·en·kharu*, Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168).
7. *Meryamen*, Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168); siege of Dapur (L.D. iii. 166); at Karnak (C.N. ii. 123).
8. *Amenemua*, Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168); siege of Dapur (L.D. iii. 166); called Setyemua in list of Derr (L.D. 183–4), which ends at this point.
9. *Sety*, born of Nefertari, living in yr. 53 (Rec. xvi. 65); Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168), tenth in Luqsor list (Rec. xiv. 31); siege of Dapur (L.D. iii. 166); at Karnak (C.N. ii. 123).
10. *Sotepenra*, Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168), ninth in Luqsor list (Rec. xiv. 31); siege of Dapur (L.D. iii. 166).
11, 12. *Ramery, Herherunmif*, Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168); Abydos (M.A. i. 4).
13. *Merenptah*, born of Astnefert (L.D. iii. 174 e, 175 h); at Silsileh (L.D.T. iv. 85); Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168); Bubastis, scenes (N.B. 43, xxxvi.); statue, Tanis (P.T. i. pl. i. 4 a);

on statue, Tanis (Ms. Q.G. 153); on statue, Heliopolis (N.Y. 65); high priest, Serapeum (M.S. iii. 21), dedicating statue of Ptah, F. Mus. ; see next reign.

14. *Amenhotep*, Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168).
15. *Atefamen*, Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168); in Slave papyrus, Leyden (L. Mon. 179; C.E. i. 3); omitted at Luqsor (Rec. xiv. 31).
16, 17, 18. *Mery-tum*, *Heb-en-ta-neb*, *Mery-ra*, Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168); the Luqsor list (Rec. xiv. 31) ends with these. Merytum and Meryra on statue at Abu Simbel (B.E. 377).
19, 20, 21, 22. *Amenemapt*, *Snekhtenamen*, *Ramess-merenra*, *Tahutmes*, Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168); Abydos list (M.A. i. 4).
23. *Simentu*, last of Rams. list (L.D. iii. 168); married Arit, daughter of Syrian shipmaster Banuánta in yr. 42 of Ram. II., Ostrakon, P. Mus. 2262 (Rec. xvi. 64); probably born before yr. 22 of R. II.

Set-her-khopshef, living in 53rd year (Rec. xvi. 65), position unknown.

Ramessu-userpehti, plaque (F.S. 310), position unknown.

Anub-er-rekhu, born of Nefertari, statue, Berlin 7347, position unknown.

48. *Ramessu-mertmara*, Sabua list (L.D. iii. 179); Abydos (M.A. i. 4).
51. . . . *Khamuas*, Sabua list (L.D. iii. 179).
79. End of Sabua list.

Among the unplaced sons are the following from the broken lists of Abydos:—

. . . *amen*, *Rameses-si-tum*, *Mentu-hequ*, *Mentu-em-uas*, *Siamen*, *Siptah*, *Ramessu-mery* . . ., *Ramessu-si-khepra*; and broken names (M.A. i. 4).

Rames·mery·Set is on a door jamb, C. Mus.

Daughters—

1. *Banutantha*, Luqsor list (Rec. xvi. 32), daughter of Astnefert (Silsileh, L.D. iii. 174 e; Aswan, 175 h); tomb (C.N. i. 401–2; L.D. iii. 172 e; L.D.T. ii. 227); on statues, Sarabit; Tanis (P.T. i. 24; Rec. ix. 13); Abu Simbel (B.E. 373); Memphis (fig. 35), Karnak (C.N. ii. 23); portraits (R.S. vi. 24; C.M. 3 iii., 231 ii.). In list, papyrus (L.K. xxii.).
2. *Ka . . a . . .* Abu Simbel list (L.D. iii. 186).
3. *Bakmut*, Derr list (L.D. iii. 184).
4. *Merytamen*, Luqsor list (Rec. xvi. 32); 5th at Abu Simbel (L.D. iii. 186); tomb, Thebes (L.D. iii. 172 d; L.D.T. iii. 227; C.N. i. 399, 744; R.S. 35, i.); Abu Simbel, scene (C.M. iv. 3); on statue, Abu Simbel (B.E. 377); vase, P. Mus. (P.L. 377); on statue, at Tanis (P.T. i. 35); portraits (L.D. iii. 172 d, 298, 61; R.S. xiv. 58); scarabs; in list of Osirians (L.K. xxii.).

5, 6. *Pigay*, and one lost, Luqsor list (Rec. xvi. 32).

7. *Nefertari*, Luqsor list, inverted with Amenmeryt in Abu Simbel list (L.D. iii. 186).

8. *Nebttaui*, on colossus, Abu Simbel (B.E. 373); Derr list (L.D. iii. 184); tomb, Thebes (C.N. i. 397–8; L.D. iii. 172 f; L.D.T. ii. 228); portraits (R.S. xiv. 59; Pr. A. 42); in list of Osirians (L.K. xxii.) married *x*, daur. *Astemakh*, bead, Koptos (Rec. xi. 81).
9. *Ast-nefert*, Derr, Abu Simbel, and Luqsor lists, married Merenptah (C.M. 114, 121).
10. *Hent-taui*, Derr list (L.D. iii. 184); on statue at Abu Simbel (B.E. 377); carnelian bead, Serapeum, P. Mus. (P.L. 547).
11, 12. *Urnuro*, *Nezem-mut*, Derr and Abu Simbel lists end here (L.D. iii. 184, 186).
13. *Hathor-nebtant*. 14. *Renpitnefer*. 15. *Merytsekhet*. 16. . . . *h* . . . *ha*, Luqsor list (Rec. xvi. 32).
17. *Mut-tuy*, pieces of statue, temple of Osiris, Abydos, 1902 (Ab. ii. xxxix.); Luqsor list.
18. *Meryptah*. 19. *Pa-ra-renpit-nefer*. 20. . . . *heb*. End of Luqsor list (Rec. xvi. 32).
. . . *ana-nehet*, . . . *khesbed*, *Shepsesheratfs*, *Mert-ma-hap*, *Mert-atfs*, *Nub-em-ant*, *Hentsekhemu*, *Hent-pahuromer*, *Pipuy*, *Neferu-ra*, *Meryneter*, in broken list at Abydos (M.A. i. 4).
Taurt, *Hent-ta-neb*, *Tuaa*, *Hent-ta-desh*, *Hotpu-emamen*, *Nebt-amu-nezem*, *Hent-tamehu*, *Nebt-ân-ânash*, *Sitamen*, *Thaasitra*, *Tuaa-nebt-taui*, *Takhat*, *Nub-em-usekht*, list on Ostrakon, 666, P. Mus. (Rec. xvi. 67), probably of yr. 53 by list officials, as on Ost. 2261.
31. *Hent-pa-ra* . . . on list of Sebua (L.D. iii. 179), which ends at 59.

Dated Monuments—

1st year.		Epiphi 10, hymn to Nile, Silsileh	(L.D. 175 a).
		Paophi 25, Abu Simbel begun?	(L.D. iii. 189 a).
		Athyr, visit to Thebes, Nebunnef	(L.D.T. iii. 239).
		Athyr 23 left Thebes	(M.A. i., vi. 26 col.).
		Wine jars, Ramesseum 1st and various years	(A.Z. xxi. 34; S.H.O. 19–38).
		Stele from sphinx. B. Mus. 440.	
2nd	,,	Nahr el Kelb, stele	(L.D. 197 c).
		Aswan stele (Kheta, etc.)	(L.D. 175 g; R.E. 252).
3rd	,,	Tybi 4, Kuban stele	(Pr. M. xxi.).
4th	,,	Khoiak 2, Nahr el Kelb, stele	(L.D. 197 b).
5th	,,	Great war with Kheta. Left Zalu, Pauni 9	(Rev. E. iii. 156).
		Epiphi 8, report of war. Luqsor	(B.R. xl. 2).
		Epiphi 9, Abu Simbel	(Rec. viii. 126).
7th	,,	Pauni copy of poem of Pentaur.	
8th	,,	War in Palestine.	
		Mesori 25, list of officials, pap. Tur.	(Pl. 29, p. 41).
10th	,,	Statue of Khay, vizier. C. Mus.	

12th year.	Khoiak 13, pap. Tur. revenue.	see *papyri*.
13th ,,	On Apis stele	(B.T. 964).
16th ,,	Apis II., burial, Serapeum	(M.S. iii. 12).
21st ,,	Treaty on south of hypostyle hall, 21 Tybi	(L.D. iii. 146; Rec. xiii. 153, xiv. 67).
23rd ,,	On Apis stele	(B.T. 964).
26th ,,	Apis III., burial, Serapeum	(M.S. iii. 12).
30th ,,	Apis IV., burial, Serapeum	(M.S. iii. 12).
	Sed heb, Silsileh	(C.M. cxv.; B.T. 1128).
31st ,,	Stele of Baknaa. B. Mus. 164.	
33rd ,,	Stele, Karnak. Bib. Nat., Paris (a later romance)	(P.M. xxiv.)
	Sed heb, Bigeh	(B.T. 1128).
	Sed heb, Sehel	(M.I. i. pp. 88, 62).
34th ,,	Abu Simbel, stele, Kheta marriage	(L.D. iii. 196; Rec. xviii. 160).
	Sed heb, Silsileh	(C.M. cxv.; B.T. 1127–8).
35th ,,	Abu Simbel, stele, decree of Ptah, 13 Tybi	(L.D. iii. 194; T.S.B.A. vii. 120).
36th ,,	Sed heb, Silsileh	(B.T. 1127).
37th ,,	Sed heb, Silsileh	(C.M. cxv.; B.T. 1128).
38th ,,	Abu Simbel, stele, by Setau	(C.N. i. 78; L.D. iii. 195).
40th ,,	Sed heb, Silsileh	(C.M. cxv.; B.T. 1128).
	Sehel, stele of Khaemuas	(M.D. lxxi. 13).
	Khay, stele, Silsileh	(B.T. 1128).
41st ,,	Stele, temple Amenhotep III., El Kab.	(My. E. 509).
42nd ,,	Stele of Unnefer, Abydos	(M.A. ii. 41).
	Ostrakon. P. Mus.	(Rec. xvi. 64).
46th ,,	Sed heb, stele of Khay, Silsileh	(B.T. 1128).
	Paophi 14, papyrus, Berl.	(A.Z. xvii. 71).
52nd ,,	Pauni 27–9, Epiphi 1–4, Leyden pap. i. 350	(Rec. xvii. 152).
53rd ,,	Ostrakon. P. Mus.	(Rec. xvi. 65).
62nd ,,	Pachons 29, stele of Neferher. B. Mus. 163.	(Lb. D. 889).
66th ,,	Stele of Bakur	(Rec. ix. 100).
	Athyr 5, Ostrakon	(M.A. 1497; Dy. O. 25237; O.L.Z. v. 318).
67th ,,	End of reign	(Stele of Ram. IV.).

In the foregoing lists of the monumental remains of this reign, a careful selection of materials and refer-

ences was needed, owing to the great amount to be dealt with. Mere appropriations of earlier monuments are of no historical use in so profuse a series; and objects in collections, which have lost their source, and give only a repetition of the name, are also useless: the various publications of the same monument have been compared, and such as only repeated the information in a poorer manner have been omitted from the references. Thus it would have been far easier to have made lists of double the length; and the comparison and selection of the sources has occupied most of the time.



FIG. 14.—Ramessu II., young, from his statue. Karnak.

The question of the age of Ramessu at his accession has been variously stated. On the one hand, six of his sons (including his tenth son) are represented in the Syrian war of year 8, which would imply that he was between 30 and 40 at the time; but probably these are only honorific figures of children, who were too young to be actually present. The figures of Ramessu accompanying Sety in his first year's campaign are no evidence, as they have been inserted later than the original carving. The statement of Ramessu that he was put into the army at full ten years old (stele of Qubban, line 17) only shows that he was not then king. And the proof that he had an elder brother (Rec. xviii. 121) prevents our giving any value to the boastful assertions of his having power from his birth. The main fact is that he was married to queen Nefertari already in the first year of his reign (L.D.T. ii. 239), which puts his age then to about eighteen or over; yet his horoscope on the

Ramesseum gives 1318 B.C. for his nativity, and we cannot bring his accession much later than 1300 B.C. in view of the birth of Ramessu VI. in the family history (see Table, p. 3). The conclusion must then be that he was about eighteen or a year or two less, or possibly a few years older.

The change of rule brought more activity to the work in hand at the great temple of Abydos. The main part had probably been completed already by Sety; but the completion of the front courts, and of the sculpturing, and the dedication of the temple, fell into the young king's reign. The long inscription in which he describes this, is the most important one of his early years. The assertions of this inscription must be weighed before acceptance, as Ramessu already there asserts that he was the eldest son and heir, which we know to be false. He states that the building of the temple had slackened, and it was left unfinished; that the columns were not on their bases, and the statues lay on the earth (L. 32); and that he ordered the completion of the walls, the pylon (L. 54), and pillars. This is consistent with the whole of the hypostyle halls having been already finished, but the open courts and pylons being incomplete, though already begun (M.A. i. p. 10), and the pillars in those courts yet unbuilt. And such a division seems probable from the different quality of the work. Ramessu takes great credit to himself for his carrying on of Sety's building; but as he covered all the blank walls with his own scenes, the piety of it fades before his self-assertion.

It seems that the king came to the throne at some time in the half-year between Khoiak and Pakhons; and went to Nubia soon after his accession. In the 1st year we find a hymn to the Nile, dated 10th of Epiphi (about 21st May) at Silsileh; an inscription of 25th of Paophi (9th Sept.), at Abu Simbel, points to his having gone up on the high Nile, and ordered the excavation of the temple there. Thence going down to Thebes on the flood he arrived before the end of the

great feast of Amen of 19th Paophi to 12th Athyr (2nd to 25th September), and stayed for the feast of the fifth day (30th Sept.). His arrival at Thebes from the south in the month of Athyr is noted on the tomb of Nebunnef. Then leaving Thebes on the 23rd of Athyr (6th Oct.) he went down on the high Nile to Tanis (Abyd. Inscr. l. 29). In order to visit Abydos he directed his rowers to turn into the canal (then passable, as it was in the inundation) to visit the shrines of Unnefer and Anhur. There he was struck by seeing the buildings of the cemetery of the kings who were before him, and their tombs in Abydos, rapidly becoming destroyed, and the walls broken down (L. 31); this must refer either to the cemetery of the kings of the first dynasty or that of the twelfth, more likely the latter, as the earlier tombs had no structure above ground.

He also saw the temple of Sety yet unfinished, the revenues for it having been misappropriated. He ordered the seal-bearer to assemble the court, to whom he lamented the neglect with which previous kings had treated the tombs of their predecessors, and declared his intention of completing the temple of his father, to whom he owed so much. He ordered the architects, masons, and sculptors to proceed with the work, and had statues of Sety carved; he also appropriated double the revenue to carry on this work and the worship. The sacred domains included herds of cattle, birds, fishermen, serfs, and temple servants. The facts here stated are wrapped up in very lengthy addresses of adulation, which have no other value beyond showing the extravagant style of that time. On the second pylon between the two courts are remains of figures of princes and princesses of the family of Ramessu, which were added later, in the sculpturing of the decoration.

The main activity of the beginning of the reign seems to have been at the Ramesseum. The dates of the wine jars found in the heaps of potsherds there are nearly all of the years 1 to 8; they have been attributed to some successor of Ramessu; but this is

highly unlikely, as there is no other great group of datings that can be assigned for the inevitable piles of waste jars which must have accumulated during the building of such a temple. The actual names on the jars are 4 of Sety I. (S.H.O. 139, 141, 168, 230), 46 of Ramessu II., and none of any other king. Hence it is certain that the Ramesseum was built from the 1st to 8th year of the reign. Also a form of the king's name appears which was entirely unknown later, *Ra-user-maat, sotepenra, her her maat.*

Why this funerary temple should thus be the first labour of a youth may be guessed when we look at the temple of Qurneh. That funerary temple shows a curious mixture of intention, the sculptures pointing to its being for both Ramessu I. and Sety I.; such a combined temple is not known elsewhere, and it seems evident, therefore, that Sety built the Qurneh temple for his father, and had just begun the Ramesseum for his own temple, when he died. His unfilial son changed the purpose, finished off the sculptures of Qurneh for Sety, and made it serve for his father and grandfather; while he appropriated for himself the grand temple just begun by Sety, and finished and sculptured it to his own glory. Thus the proportion of a tenth of the wine jars being of Sety's reign, and the temple being built in the first eight years of Ramessu II., agrees with the peculiarity seen in the sculptures at Qurneh. Most unfortunately none of the wine jars of Sety have preserved the year of dating; for the ostraka from here are far the most likely source for settling the length of his reign.

Some interesting details of the building of the Ramesseum have been preserved, on the flat flakes of limestone which served for memoranda and accounts. The stones were transported from the quarries in boats of about the smaller size of the ordinary Nile boats of the present day, about 15 to 20 tons burden, or 70 to 100 ardebs; each boat carried 5 to 7 blocks, the largest of which were about 5 feet long, the load being 40 to 55 cubic cubits; the boats floated down from the

quarries of Silsileh in parties of five together; and the four tablets of accounts which we have record the dimensions of about 120 stones, or rather more than there are in the whole of the well-known wall with the Khita war and siege of Dapur. The boats are distinguished by the names of their owners or reises, which are of the usual style of that period (S.H.O. 134, 5, 6, 7).

Though the temple was started under Sety, the work had not gone further than laying out the ground,



FIG. 15.—Ramesseum; figures in peristyle court.

building probably some of the brick galleries for stores and offices for the architects, and collecting materials. The stone foundations were laid by Ramessu, at least at the back of the temple, the western end, as is shown by his name on the under side of a block, and on the foundation deposit.

The general plan was like that of other temples of the age; a great pylon stood in front, the first court was quite open, the second court had a double colonnade around it, the third space was a covered hypostyle hall, behind that were four successive chambers, flanked

at each side with a mass of small rooms; the whole was enclosed in long walls, completely hiding all the features, which are now seen after the walls have been stripped away. Nothing is left except the front pylon, the columns which could not well be used for materials, and about a tenth of the whole amount of the flat walls, which were so tempting a quarry to later builders. The scenes which remain are therefore only about a seventh of what was originally sculptured, and can give us but a very imperfect idea of the whole design.

The brick galleries around the Ramesseum are the



FIG. 16.—A corner of the camp. Pylon of Ramesseum. L.D. iii. 154.

largest example of ancient brickwork remaining. Many of them still have their barrel roofs in complete condition, and show the system of lighting by small holes, about a foot across, placed 12 feet apart. About 70 long galleries of 30 feet or so, and over 40 shorter galleries of about half the length, can still be traced, and have been cleared and planned (Q.R. 6, 1). Altogether there was over half a mile length of gallery about 12 feet wide. From the lighting it seems probable that these were for barracks as well as for stores.

The principal subjects of the sculptures are the campaigns of the 5th and 8th years in Syria on the

pylon; the Kheta war and battle of Qadesh on the entrance side of the first court; the siege of Dapur on the entrance side of the hypostyle hall; on the back of this hall the sacred boats of the triad of Thebes, and the scene of the king seated beneath the *persea* tree, on the leaves of which Safekht writes his name; while the smaller halls beyond contain scenes of offering. In the first court are the remains of a colossal seated figure of the king in red granite; the square mass of the throne has been largely split up for millstones, and the upper part lies now in fragments. The original height is estimated as 57 feet; it was slightly exceeded in scale by the granite colossus of Tanis, which being a standing figure was probably 92 feet high.

The next great undertaking was the war in Syria in the second year; this extended as far as the Nahr el Kelb, half-way up the coast of Syria, where a rock stele shows the king smiting a Syrian before Amen; the dozen lines of inscription have unhappily all perished, except a few signs, among which remain the date of the 2nd year (not the 10th by the length of the strokes). More of this campaign is learned from the stele at Aswan (R.E. 252), which mentions the Kheta, the Sati, the Thahennu, and the people of the great sea. This would not imply any further conquest than the Nahr el Kelb; but the Tahennu and Mediterranean people being named imply a western war, perhaps in the 1st year. (The reading Themhennu is probably wrong, and cannot be connected with a Syrian Tamahu people, as supposed in A.Z. xiii. 102, for Sanehat in the tale had come from a war with the Libyan Tamahu, and had to cross the Nile at Cairo before he could reach Syria. It is therefore only comparable with a western name, Tamahu or Tahennu, and the latter is far more likely.)

In the third year the development of the gold mines was pushed, as we see from the stele of Qubban; the lack of water in the desert had led to great complaints, and at last to the cessation of the mining (l. 10); the

king appointed a royal commission of chiefs to report (l. 11–13), provided with a map of the country; after seven lines of courtier compliments, they state that Sety had made a well 120 cubits deep, but it was left unfinished, and without reaching water, and they recommended deepening and completing it (l. 22); this was ordered, and the viceroy of Kush reported having made a tank 12 cubits long, and with 4 cubits deep of water in it.

The Syrian war was renewed in the fourth year, as shown by a stele at Nahr el Kelb, which shows the king devoting a Syrian to Ra, probably as a temple serf; this indicates that there was not so much a war as an expedition for tribute and slaves. The stele is dated in the fourth year, the second day of Khoiak (middle of September), which suggests that the king passed the summer in the Syrian hills.

This renewed activity in Syria, which was more energetic than any action of Egypt for some time past, roused the Hittite confederacy; and the great chief of the Kheta prepared an alliance of the countries behind him, to form a decided barrier to the Egyptians, and to prevent their regaining the power over Syria and Mesopotamia that they had enjoyed two or three centuries before. In this he succeeded; and, notwithstanding the pompous boasts of Ramessu, the Egyptians had to remain content with Palestine, and did not possess more than had been easily acquired in the beginning of his reign. The confederacy of the Kheta is described in four passages in the poem of Pentaur, which vary in the order of the names. The peoples mentioned have been identified by historians with races of the west coast of Asia Minor, regardless of the fact that this is a land confederacy, and that a gathering of troops, "three men on a car," across so rough a country as Asia Minor is unlikely.

In three out of the four passages the actual lists of names are the same in the versions of the Raifet-Sallier papyrus, Luqsor, and Karnak; the whole of the versions are given together in Rev. Eg. iii. 149 to

vii. 182. The names are of great historical importance, as they are not merely lists of conquests, but show the extent of the military organisation of the



FIG. 17.—Hittites and Amorites. Pylon of Ramesseum.

Kheta, which they could draw on for defensive purposes.

Rev. Eg. iii. 151. ,, ,, iv. 124.	Rev. E. iii. 159. Raifet.	Rev. E. iii. 159. Luxor, Karnak.	Rev. E. iv. 129.	Rev. E. vi. 36.
1 Kheta	1 Kheta	1 Kheta	1 Kheta	. . .
2 Naharin	2 Naharna	2 Naharin	. . .	. . .
3 Arethu	3 Arethu	. . .	3 Arethu	3 Aretu.
(down)	4 Masu	. . .	4 Mausu	4 Masa.
. . .	5 Keshkesh	. . .	(down)	. . .
6 Pidasa	. . .	6 Pidasa	. . .	. . .
. . .	(up)	. . .	5 Keshkesh	. . .
. . .	. . .	7 Arwena	7 Arwena	7 Arwena.
. . .	. . .	. . .	. . .	8 Luka.
9 Dardany	. . .	. . .	. . .	9 Derdeny.
4 Masa	(up)	. . .	(up)	(up).
. . .	(up)	. . .	(up)	5 Keshkesh.
10 Qa)r . . sha	. . .	10 Qarkish	. . . X	11 Qairqamesh.
11 Kirkmash	11 Qarqamesha	(down)	. . .	10 Qirqash.
. . .	8 Luka	8 Lu)ka	(down)	(up).
. . .	12 Qazauana	12 Qazuadn	12 Qazauadana	. . .
(up)	(up)	11 Kirkemish	. . .	(up).
. . .	. . .	. . .	13 Khilbu	13 Khilbu.
(down)	(down)	. . .	14 Akarta	. . .
. . .	15 Qedesh	(down)	15 Qedesh	. . .
. . .	14 Akaret	. . .	(up)	. . .
16 Qedi	. . .	16 Qedi	. . .	. . .
15 Qedesh	(up)	(down)	(up)	. . .
. . .	(up)	(up)	8 Luka	(up).
. . .	17 An)augasa	17 A)nnugas	. . .	. . .
14 Akarith	(up)	. . .	(up)	. . .
18 Mushena	18 Mushanatha	18 Mushanth	. . .	. . .
. . .	(up)	15 Qedesh	(up)	. . .

Each list here is in precisely the same order and spelling as is given in the document; the numbers refer to the probable standard list conformable to the majority of the occurrences. 1. Kheta (Hittites) are the head of the organisation at Qadesh. 2. Naharin is the land between the two rivers Orontes and Euphrates. 3. Aretu, Aradus, on the coast. 4. Masa are credited with being Mysians, 500 miles distant; but by the list rather belong to the North Syrian coast, perhaps the people of Gebel Musa. 5. Keshkesh, probably the cuneiform Kash, Mt. Kasios, close to the last place. 6. Pidasa (strangely credited with being Pisidia) might be Pedasos in Karia; but it may well be at the Cypriote river Pidias, opposite to places 4 and 5, or at some other "plain." 7. Arwena, credited with being Iliuna, Ilion; but more probably Arwan (Gr. Oroanda) on the N.W. of Cilicia. 8. Luka, Lykians. 9. Dardeny, credited with being Dardanians at the N.W. extremity of Asia Minor; but probably of the Durdun Mts., N. of Issus. 10. Qarkish, Kirke-

sion on the Euphrates, always named next to 11. Qarqamesh, Karkemish on the Euphrates. 12. Qazauana or Qazaua-dana; the termination-*dana* points rather to the Persian side than to the Greek, and the form Qazaua-ira for balsam from the Kheta shows that Qazaua or Qataua was the essential name. This people were outside of the Kheta, but closely connected, as the king swears by the gods of the Kheta and the gods of Qazauadana. The region of Kataonia

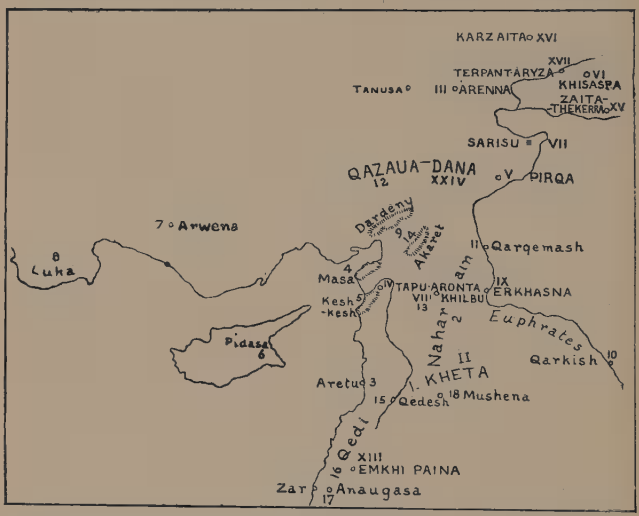


FIG. 18.—Map of Hittite allies (small type), and home lands (capitals).

well agrees to this in all ways. 13. Khilbu, modern Haleb, Aleppo. 14. Akaret, the Ugarit of cuneiform, the Gebel Okrad or mountain of the Kurds or Carduchi. 15. Qedesh, the Hittite capital. 16. Qedi, well identified with Phoenicia (M.A.E. 244); and certainly on the Egyptian side of the Kheta, as the prince of Qedi is given a message for Egypt from the Kheta prince. 17. Anaugasa, one of the three store cities of Megiddo, near Tyre. 18. Mushena, perhaps Masna, 40 m. E.

of Kedesh. Thus we see that nearly all of these allies came from a region between Cappadocia and Tyre, and between the Euphrates and Phoenicia, a space about equal to the size of England. The only names beyond these limits are Arwena and the Luka; but in no case need we look to an alliance of Greek races or the people of the Aegean coasts. This army of charioteers is quite a different group to the naval alliance which attacked Egypt under Ramessu III.

The authorities for this war are two inscriptions; one an official report dated Epiphi 8 at Luqsor, or 9 at Abu Simbel (19th May); the other a poem, which having been copied by a scribe, Pentaur, has been usually named after him. Of the report there are copies at Abu Simbel (Rec. viii. 126, including the following), Luqsor (B.R. xl. 2), and the Ramesseum (L.D. iii. 153); of the poem the papyrus (Raifet-Sallier), Luqsor, and Karnak versions are collated in Rev. Eg. iii. 149 to vii. 21. For full bibliography see M.S.N. 390, 396.

The Egyptian army was formed in four divisions, named after the gods, doubtless according to the regions from which they were recruited; the army of Amen from the Thebaid, the army of Ptah from Memphis and middle Egypt, the army of Ra from Heliopolis and the Delta, and the army of Sutekh from Tanis and the eastern allies. Beside these there were many Shardana from the Mediterranean, and probably Libyan and Negro conscripts. The whole of this body was collected during the spring at the frontier; and by Pauni 9 (19th April) the king left the fortress of Zalu, just east of the Suez Canal, and started to cross more than a hundred miles of desert which barred the way to the nearest habitable land. The road had been long familiar to the Egyptians, and Sety had repaired the wayside reservoirs and wells, which enabled such a large body of men to cross the desert. The total numbers are supposed to have been about 15,000 or 18,000 men (M.S.N. 212). The travelling must have been rapid, as the decisive battle near Qedesh was

fought within a month, showing that the 400 miles must have been covered at about 15 miles a day for clear marching. It seems as if this were a rapid forced advance, in order to strike before the Hittite alliance was assembled.

The town of Ramessu-mery-Amen was passed; but we cannot identify it, owing to the vanity of the namer. The successive facts which are recorded in the report (R.), the scenes (S.), and the poem (P.), are in the following order: (P.) Ramessu went northward to the ridge or high land of Qedesh (the watershed in the valley between Lebanon and Antilebanon, going up



FIG. 19.—Beating the spies. Abu Simbel. L.D. iii. 153.

the Nahr el Kelb and down the Orontes); (P.) Ram. went down the valley of Aronta with the chief army of Amen; (R.) Ram. came to the S. of Shabtuna; (R.) two spies of the Shasu came and stated the Kheta to be near Aleppo; (P.) Ram. drew near Qedesh on the N.W. and halted; (R.) two spies of the Kheta, when beaten, stated the Kheta army to be near; (R.) Ram. held a council of war with all the chiefs of his army, (P.) on the shore in the land of Amaur; Ram. was alone with his staff, the army of Amen was marching behind, the army of Ra was crossing the valley S. or W. of Shabtuna to go towards Arnama, the army of

Ptah in the midst of . . . , the army of Sutekh on the roads (guarding the communications, as being least dependable); (R.) Ram. sends back an officer to hasten the troops, (S.) or the army of Ptah, (R.) from S. of Shebtuna; (Q.) the Kheta were hidden behind Qedesh, they advanced from the S. of Qedesh, attacked the army of Ra in the midst, while on the march and unready, broke them, and chased them (R.) toward Ram.; (P.) Ram. was N. of Qedesh and W. of Aronta, a messenger was sent from the army of Ra to Ram., who arose and alone struck the Kheta in midst, (P.R.) and threw them back into the Aronta, (P.) and chased them to the junction of roads.

Now turning to the present state of the region of Qedesh, there is, first, the question of the position of the city. Some have assigned it to Tell Neby Mindu, others to the island in the lake, on the strength of the scenes where Qedesh is shown surrounded by a lake. The fact that at his farthest advance Ramessu was west of Orontes and yet north of Qedesh, shows that the city was in the bend of the river, in a position like the island. Had it been at Tell Neby Mindu his position could hardly have been so described; and, moreover, he would have advanced directly on the Tell to besiege it. His going round the lake shows that he was advancing to a causeway on the north of the city, by which the Kheta troops had left in going to their position N.W. of the city.

The whole action seems to have been this: Ramessu descended the Orontes, came to the south of Shabtuna (a valley S.W. of Qedesh, T.S.B.A. vii. 396), and, supposing the Kheta far away, advanced round the west end of the lake, to the causeway to Qedesh, to seize the city. This must have been the object of advancing west of Orontes, as the regular road to Aleppo lay east of the river. The Kheta had already gone out of the city to the north-west. Seeing the straggling advance of the Egyptians, they stole along the north of the lake, crossed to Homs, and struck down the road so as to cut the Egyptian

army in two. They broke into the army of Ra at the S. of Shabtuna, crushed it, and chased it. Ramessu was by this time N.W. of the lake, sitting down before Qedesh, waiting for the army to come up. His council on the shore in the land of Amaur could hardly refer to the general Amorite country, as that is too wide a region to specify for a single detail; rather it points to his position at Amari, exactly north of Qedesh, where he is said to have been. He was hurried back to the scene of disaster, rallied the fugitives of Ra on the way, rushed on the Kheta, who were disordered in their pursuit, and by sheer dash held them back till he was supported by his other troops. His army was advancing on the west bank of the Orontes; and as he threw the Kheta back into the Orontes, he drove them to the east bank again; some escaped by swimming over to Qedesh (L.D. iii. 164), but most rejoined their infantry, and were then chased by the king to the junction of roads, probably the great meeting-place of roads at Homs, whence the allies fled to their own districts, and there was no longer any solid body to be followed. The chief of the Kheta fled back along the north bank to the entrance to Qedesh, where he was received by the remaining garrison. The differences between the above summary and the full description in M.S.N. 390–5 are due to that being drawn solely from the report, while in the present account the important details given in the poem are also included. In a recent study on this war Breasted adopts the site Tell Neby Mindu, south of the lake, and reads the narrative with this view. More study on the ground is needed before the exact locality can be fixed (*Univ. Chic. Decen. Pub.* vol. v.).

The slaughter of the Kheta in this sudden onset, which wrecked their easy victory, was very serious. A list of the slain was drawn up, and many of their names are inserted on the battle scenes of the pylons of the Ramesseum. The names are—

Sipazar, brother of the chief of the Kheta (Abydos).
Mazarima, brother of the chief of the Kheta.

Thydur, chief of bodyguard of the chief of the Kheta.
Gerbatusa, shield-bearer of the c. Kh.
Targa-nunasa, charioteer of the c. Kh.
Paysa, charioteer of the c. Kh.
Khirpasar, chief recorder of the c. Kh.

Zauazasa, chief of the land of Tanusa (Tonosa *Gr.*, *Tunuz* now, N. of Kataonia).
Targa-bazasu, chief archer of Naqsu (cuneif. Nukhashi).
Agma, chief archer of the Nasa (? Nastae *Gr.*, *Nasaly* now, Commagene).
Rabbasunna, chief archer of Annasa (? native title, *Rab* master, *sun* arrow).

Qamayza, chief of the Tuhairu (=heroes).
Tadar, chief of the Tuhairu.
Samaritsa.

The effect of this defeat in victory was that the chief of Qedesh sent a messenger with a letter proposing terms, according to which Ramessu accepted peace, and immediately returned to Egypt. Not a word is said of presents or tribute, and certainly Qedesh was not plundered. The Kheta therefore were still too strong for further operations against them, and the result of the war was a drawn game.

Having thus noted the facts, we may turn to some of the poetical setting in which they are placed. The heart of the poem is the address of the king to Amen, and the reply, beginning at Pap. Sall. i. 5. For the three versions see Rev. E. iii. 151, etc.

The peril of Ramessu.

Then his Majesty arose like Mentu,
he seized his panoply of war,
he clad him in his habergeon,
himself like Baal in his hour.
The great horses that were with his Majesty,
named "Victories in Thebes,"
were from the stable of Usermara, chosen of Ra, loved of Amen.
Then did his majesty dash on;
then he entered into the midst of the foes, of the vile Kheta;
he alone by himself, no other with him.
When his Majesty turned to look behind him
he found around him 2500 chariots, in his outward way;

all the light troops of the vile Kheta,
with the multitudes who were with them ;
from Arvad, from Mausu, from Pidasa,
from Keshkesh, from Arwena, from Kataua-dana,
from Khilbu, from Okrad, Qedesh, and Lycia,
they were three men on each chariot,
they were united.
" But there was never a chief with me,
there was never a charioteer,
there was never an officer of the troops,
never a horseman ;



FIG. 20.—Ramessu conquering. Abu Simbel. Pr. A.

being abandoned by the infantry,
the chariots fleeing away before them,
there remained not one of them for fighting along with me."

The invocation of Amen.

Then said his Majesty,
" What is in thy heart, my father Amen,
Does a father ignore the face of a son ?
I have made petitions, and hast thou forgotten me ?
Even in my going stood I not on thy word ?
I never broke the decrees thou ordained.
Very great is the great Lord of Egypt,
to make to flee the people who are in his path :
What is thy will concerning these Amu ?

Amen shall bring to nought the ignorers of God.
Made I never for thee great multitudes of monuments?
I filled thy holy house with my prisoners,
I built for thee a temple of millions of years,
I have given all my goods to thee by decree,
I give thee the whole of every land for offerings to thy holy altar,
I have slain for thee myriads of oxen
With all perfumes sweet to smell.
I have not put behind my hand (neglected) any good thing which has not been done for thy courts,
Building for thee the pylons of stone unto completion,
setting up for thee their masts myself:
Bringing for thee obelisks of Elephantine,
I have caused eternal stones to be brought.
Moreover, I bring to thee transports on the great sea, to ship to thee tributes of the countries.
Let thou order an evil fate to befall him who attacks thy excellent decrees,
And a good fate to him whom thou accountest just.

Amen! behold this has been done to thee out of love,
I call on thee, my father Amen,
for I am in the midst of many nations whom I know not,
the whole of every land is against me,
I alone am my guard, no other is with me,
being abandoned by these many troops;
my chariots never look once for me, though I cry to them;
there is not one among them that listens when I call.
I find that Amen is worth more than millions of troops,
more than hundreds of thousands of chariots,
more than myriads of brethren or children,
if they were together in one place.
Never the deeds of an abundance of people,
but the excellence of Amen exceeds them!
I end this waiting on the decrees of thy mouth, Amen!
never overstepping thy decrees,
even making to thee invocations from the ends of the earth."

The coming of Amen.

The voice was repeated in Anu of the south (Hermonthis)—

Amen came because I cried to him,
He gave me his hand, and I rejoiced:
He cried out to me, "My protection is with thee,
my face is with thee, Ramessu, loved of Amen,
I am with thee, I am thy Father,
my hand is with thee,
I am more excellent for thee than hundreds of thousands united in one.

I am Lord of might,
Those who love valour shall find me a firm heart, a rejoicing heart,
All that I have done has come to pass ;
For I am like Mentu,
I strike on the right hand ;
In seizing in the left hand,
I am like Baal in wrath upon them."

The deliverance.

" I found 2500 chariots,
I being in the midst of them,
They became in dread before my mares.



FIG. 21.—Ramessu II. inside S. of great hall. Karnak.

Never found even one among them his hand to fight,
Their hearts rotted in their bodies for fear,
Their arms were all powerless,
They were unable to shoot an arrow.
Never found they their hearts to carry their lances ;

I caused them to plunge them in the water,
even as plunge the crocodiles;
they were fallen on their faces one over the other;
I was slaying among them,
I loved that never one among them should look behind him,
never another should turn his face,
Every fallen one among them did not lift himself up."

Behold the vile chief, the smitten one, of the Kheta,
stood among his troops and his chariots,
for gazing on the fight of his Majesty,
for that his Majesty was alone by himself,
there being never a soldier with him, never a chariot.
He was standing and turning about for fear of his Majesty,
Then ordered he many chiefs to come,
every one among them being with chariots,
and they were arrayed with all weapons for fight;
The chief of Arvad, and this of Masa,
the chief of Arwena, and this of Luka,
the chief of Dardeny, and this of Keshkesh,
the chief of Karkemish, the chief of Kirkash, and this of Khilbu,
the brethren of this Kheta, to the bounds of the whole of them,
being all together 2500 chariots.
"I came up to them quicker than fire,
I was carried among them,
I was like Mentu;
gave I to them the taste of my hand,
in the passing of an instant.
I was upon consuming among them,
upon slaying in their places (as they stood)."

The terror of the foe.

One was crying out among them to another, and saying,
"Never a mortal this, the which is among us,
It is Sutekh great of might, it is Baal in the flesh.
Never did a man like the deeds of him—
The one alone terrifies the multitudes,
and there is never a chief with him, never a soldier.
Come, hasten, save ourselves from before him,
seek we for us the life, to breathe the breath.
Behold thou! all who meet with him fall powerless,
His hand is on all their limbs;
They never know how to grasp the bow,
Nor the spear likewise."
When he saw them come to the union of the roads,
Then his Majesty was behind them like a gryphon.
He was on slaying among them, they escaped him not,
He shouted to the soldiers and the charioteers, to say,
"Steady yourselves! steady your hearts!
My soldiers and my chariots;

Behold ye these my mighty acts,
I am alone, and it is Amen who sustains me,
His hand is toward me.
When Menna my charioteer beheld that,
namely multitudes of chariots completely around me,
he became weak, his heart failed,
a very great terror went through his limbs;
behold he said to his Majesty—
'My good lord! my brave prince!
Oh mighty strength of Egypt in the day of battle!
We are standing alone in the midst of the enemy,
Behold they abandon us, the soldiers and the chariots,
make a stand to save the breath of our lips.
Oh save us! Ramessu, loved of Amen, my good lord.'"
Then said his Majesty to his charioteer,
"Steady! steady thy heart! my charioteer,
I am going in among them like the striking of a hawk,
I shall slay in smiting, and throw in the dust.
What is in thy heart about these Asiatics?
By Amen! they are extremely vile in ignoring God,
Who never shall shine his face on millions of them."
His Majesty then led rapidly,
He arose and penetrated the enemy,
To whom six times he penetrated in among them.
He was like Baal behind them in the time (of his power),
He was slaying among them, none escaping him.

The reproaches of the King.

Then called his Majesty to his soldiers and his chariots,
likewise to his chiefs who ignored the fight,
His Majesty said to them,
"It is evil in your hearts, oh my charioteers,
It is unworthiness that fills your hearts amongst you,
There is not one among you but what I have given him good fortune in my land;
Had I never risen as lord, ye were in poor estate.
I give to make you chiefs in positions every day,
I give to the son to succeed to the goods of his father;
If any pest comes in the land of Egypt,
I remit to you your tribute:
Never give I to you the things plundered?
Whoever asks requests (of the gods),
Behold I make petitions for him myself daily (as High Priest),
Never a lord did for his soldiers what his Majesty did for your hearts.
I gave you to rest in your houses and in your towns,
There were no orders given by the captains,
Nor likewise by my charioteers.
I gave them a way to their many towns,

For that I sought likewise for them the day and hour of rising up for war.
Now behold ye have made a miserable return,
the whole of you together,
Never stood any among you to give his hand to me;
I was fighting, I swear by the *ka* of my father Amen,
Behold me over Egypt as were my fathers,
Who had never beheld the Syrians."

Here the stress of equal powers, neither of whom could hope for mastery, brought peace for a short time. But the Kheta chief was strengthening his alliances in the south. The war of the Vth year had brought up for him allies from Phoenicia and Anaugasa, near Tyre; but the VIIIth year found the frontier pushed further south, and the fighting was in Galilee, a region which had for centuries been regarded as within the Egyptian sphere of influence. The list of places recaptured in this campaign is on the pylon of the Ramesseum (L.D. iii. 156; C.N. i. 871); it consisted of six rows of three forts in each. In the top line Shalma (*Khurbet Sellameh*, Gr. Salamis, 10 W. of Capernaum) is the only name read, but overthrown. In 2nd line Bayka (*Bakah*?, 14 S.W. of Megiddo) only is left. In 3rd line . . . rtha, . . . na, and Maroma (Lake Merom). In the 4th line, "In the land of Amaur, Dapur" (Tabor), has been supposed (M.A.E.) to be in N. Syria from the mention of Amorites; but as they were pushing south at the time, there is no difficulty in accepting the site of Tabor: Kaur (*Kh. el Kur*, 3 W. of Capernaum); Anmyma (not identified locally = Anamim, M.A.E.). 5th line, Ain Naâma (?) (Kh. Tell en Naâm, N. of Merom); Bayta Antha (Beth Anath, Temple of Anaitis, 10 N.W. of Merom); below, the name Karpu (which is not identified); Qemna (*Tell Kaimun*, Gr. Kyamon, 12 S.E. of Haifa). 6th line, only the 2nd legible Gaba . . . (Gabara, *Kh. Kabra*, 12 E. of Acre, or Geba, 11 S. of Haifa, etc., a common name = "hill"). Thus these forts were all within 50 miles in Galilee. This was a far less claim than that set up in the Vth year, as he seems to have stopped more than a hundred miles

short of that, and not to have attempted the Litany-Orontes valley through the Lebanon. The siege of Askalon, of which there is a spirited picture at Karnak, is undated in the publications of it ; but it is referred by Maspero to the IXth year (M.S.N. 400). Another undated inscription at the Ramesseum, ascribes to Ramessu an attack upon Tunep. The king "arrived



FIG. 22.—Siege of Dapur. Ramesseum.

to attack the city of the Kheta in which had been the statue of the Pharaoh himself. His Majesty . . . his soldiers and his chariots ; his Majesty being before the soldiers and the chariots . . . the Kheta, who were in the region of the city of Tunep, in the land of Naharina. His Majesty began to take his cuirass . . . arose to fight the city of the vile Kheta before his

soldiers and his (chariots) . . . his cuirass. His Majesty sent to take his cuirass and to put it on him. . . . Kheta who were in the region of the city of Tunep, in the land of Naharina. He put his cuirass upon him" (B.R. liv.; Rec. viii. 143).

There is nothing to show to what year this passage refers. And as there is no trace of dated wars in Syria after the VIIIth (or IXth) year, and by the XXIst year a permanent treaty of peace on equal terms was renewed between the Kheta and Egyptians, it seems more likely that this fragment belongs to the early wars of the Nahr el Kelb steles of the IInd and IVth years, those wars which provoked the great Kheta alliance of the Vth year. The statue of Pharaoh in the city of Tunep was probably one of Sety, which had been overthrown on hearing of his death.

Minor objects of the earlier years carry on the history. At the close of the campaign of the VIIIth year, on July 5, there is a list of officials, inspectors, foremen, and masons, who were engaged, perhaps on finishing the Ramesseum, as it mentions "the funeral chapel . . . the left side was in the hands of the chief foreman, Mentu" (Pap. Tur. p. 41).

Of the succeeding years we have no records bearing any date until the XXIst year, when the celebrated treaty with the Kheta was ratified. This document is one of the most important preserved to us, as it shows the ideals of government and affairs, the political situation, and many details of the religion, customs, and geography of the Kheta. The best copies are given in L.D. iii. 145 for the whole, and earlier half better in B.R. xxviii.; recopied and edited in Rec. xiii. 153, from Karnak; and a duplicate of the lower lines at the Ramesseum, in Rec. xiv. 67. The document will be perhaps more intelligible if parts are summarised.

In the XXIst year on Tybi 21 (28th November), Ramessu was in the city of Pa-Ramessu-mery-Amen making offerings to Amen, Harkhuti-Atmu, Amen of Ramessu, Ptah of Ramessu, and Sutekh son of Nut (here the city of Ramessu is substituted for Memphis,

otherwise these gods belong to the four great divisions of the army). Then came the "royal opener of audience," or introducer of ambassadors, with messengers from the great chief of the Kheta, namely, Tarte-sebu (perhaps "commander of the captives," who was accustomed to Egyptians) and Rames, evidently an Egyptian agent, to propose "satisfactions" (*hotepu*) or peace. Copy of the *ānu* (Heb. *ảnah*, declaration), tablet of silver sent by the great chief of the Kheta, Kheta-sar ("prince of the Kheta"), to Pharaoh, by the hand of his ambassador Tarte-sebu and his ambassador Rames, to ask for peace.

Copy. *The protocol.*

"The ordinance made by the great chief of the Kheta, KHETA-SAR the mighty; the son of MĀRSAR the great chief of the Kheta, the mighty; the son of the son of SAPARURU the great chief of the Kheta, the mighty; on a declaration tablet of silver, to RA-USER-MAAT the great prince of Egypt, the mighty; the son of RA-MEN-MAAT the great prince of Egypt, the mighty; the son of the son of RA-MEN-PEH the great prince of Egypt, the mighty. The good ordinances of peace and brotherhood, giving peace . . . (are to last) . . . eternally, even from the beginning to the end eternally, even the agreement of the great prince of Egypt with the great chief of the Kheta; may God grant that there never shall come enmity between them, according to the ordinances. Now in times past MAUTHNURO, my brother fought with (Ramessu?) great prince of Egypt. But now and hereafter, beginning from this day, behold KHETA-SAR the great chief of the Kheta ordains to affirm the decree made by Ra and made by Sutekh, of the land of Egypt with the land of Kheta, to prevent the coming of enmities between them for ever."

The conditions.

Kheta-sar agrees with RAMESSU that there shall be good peace and brotherhood between them for ever.

He shall fraternise with me and be at peace, and I will fraternise with him and be at peace for ever.

After the time of MAUTHNURO, after he was killed, KHETA-SAR sat him, as great prince of the Kheta, on the throne of his father. Behold after it with RAMESSU there is peace and brotherhood, better than the peace and brotherhood that was before in the land.

The chief of the Kheta will be with RAMESSU in good peace and in good fellowship. The children of the children of the chief shall fraternise peacefully with the sons of the sons of RAMESSU.

By our brotherhood and agreement (the land of Egypt shall be) with the land of the Kheta in peace and brotherhood altogether for ever. Never shall enmity come to separate them for ever.

Never shall the chief of the Kheta make an invasion of the land of Egypt for ever, to carry off anything from it.

Never shall RAMESSU make an invasion of the land of the Kheta for ever, to carry off anything from it.

Confirmation of past treaties.

Now the equitable treaty which remained from the time of SAPARURU, likewise the equitable treaty which remained from the time of MAUTHENRO (? MARSAR), my father (*sic*), I will fulfil it. Behold RAMESSU will fulfil (it, and we agree) with one another together beginning in this day, we will fulfil it, performing it in an equitable manner.

Defensive alliance.

Now, if an enemy shall come to the lands of RAMESSU, let him send a message to the chief of the Kheta to say, "Come to me with forces against him": and the chief of the Kheta shall come and smite his enemies. But if the chief has never a heart (will) to march, he shall send his soldiers and his chariots to smite the enemy or RAMESSU will be angry. Or if the servants of the gates (frontier tribes) shall make a raid on him, and he shall go to smite them, the chief of the

Kheta shall act with the prince of Egypt. (The reciprocal clause follows this, *vice versâ*.)

Changes of allegiance repudiated.

If there be one from the city, if there be one from the pastures, if there be one from the (desert), of the land of RAMESSU, and they shall come to the chief of the Kheta, never shall the chief receive them, but shall give them back to RAMESSU; if there be one of the people or if there be two of the people who unknown shall come to the land of the Kheta, to do service for another, never shall they be allowed to stay in the land of the Kheta, but shall be returned to RAMESSU, or if there be one great man coming to the land of the Kheta he shall be returned to RAMESSU. (The reciprocal clause follows this, *vice versâ*.)

The ratification calls to witness all the gods, male and female, of the land of the Kheta and of Egypt: the various cities of Sutekh are important as showing the homes of the Kheta race before they came down from Armenia into Syria (see Fig. 18). The list runs—

I. Sutekh, lord of heaven.
II. ,, of the Kheta (Hittites).
III. ,, ,, city of Arenna (Arana, 39° 5′ N., 37° 35′ E.).
IV. ,, ,, ,, Tapu Aronta (Daphne Orontem?).
V. ,, ,, ,, Pirqa (*Pergli*, Lynch. 38½° N., 39° E.; *Bargenek*, 37° 50′ N., 38½° E.).
VI. ,, ,, ,, Khisaspa (*Kasaba*? L. 39⅓° N., 40¼° E.).
VII. ,, ,, ,, Sarisu (Serastere, *Shiros*, 38° 20′ N., 39° 10′ E.).
VIII. ,, ,, ,, Khilp (*Haleb*, Aleppo).
IX. ,, ,, ,, Rekhasna (Eragiza? on Euphrat, E. Aleppo).
X.-XII. Lost.
XIII. ,, ,, ,, Emkhi Paina (Amki, plain, of Panias).
XIV. Anetharta of the Kheta (Hittites).
XV. The god of Zaita-thekerra (*Tchai*, stream word in this district, of Takoran, 38¾° N., 40½° E.).
XVI. ,, Karzaita (Karsatis, *Gersut*, 39¾° N., 40¼° E.).
XVII. ,, Terpant-arysa (Eriza, *Erzingian*, 39⅓° N., 39¾° E.).
XVIII. ,, city of Ka . . khen

XIX.	The god of	. . uanu.
XX.	,,	Zain . .
XXI.	,,	Zain . . uta.
XXII.	,,	 rpa.
XXIII.	,,	Kh . . ba . . .
XXIV.	,,	Qizauadana (Kataonia).

(These old religious centres of the Kheta therefore lie mainly on the upper Euphrates (see Fig. 18), and extend almost to its sources; thus showing a shift of 100 or 150 miles south to the position in which the Kheta centred in the time of the alliance.)

The oath.

"These words which are upon the declaration tablet of silver of the land of the Kheta and of the land of Egypt, whoever shall not keep them may the thousand gods of the Kheta along with the thousand gods of the land of Egypt bring to ruin his house, his land, and his servants. But whoever shall keep these words and shall not ignore them, may the thousand gods of the Kheta along with the thousand gods of the land of Egypt give health to him, give life to him, with his house, with his land, and with his servants."

Addendum, on treatment of extradited.

"If there shall flee one of the people of the land of Egypt, if there be two, if there be three, and come to the chief of the Kheta, he shall take them and send them back to RAMESSU. And any of the people who are taken and sent back to RAMESSU, let it not be that his criminal action is raised against him, in giving to destruction his house, his wives, or his children, or in slaying him; or removing his eyes, or his ears, or his mouth, or his feet; and he shall not have any criminal action raised against him."

And likewise (the reciprocal clause follows this, *vice versâ*).

The sealing of the treaty described.

"That which is on this tablet of silver, on the front side is engraved the image of Sutekh embracing the

great chief of the Khita; around it are the words saying, 'The seal of Sutekh the prince of heaven, the seal of the ordinance made by KHETA-SAR the great chief of the Kheta, the mighty, the son of MARSAR the great chief of the Kheta, the mighty.'

"That which is within the surrounding engraving is the seal of Sutekh the prince of heaven.

"That which on this (other?) side is engraved, is the image of the god of the Kheta embracing the figure of the great queen of the Kheta; around it are the words, saying, 'The seal of the Sun of the city of Aranna, the lord of the land, the seal of PUUKHIPA the great queen of the land of the Kheta, the daughter of the land of Qiza (uadana, queen of) Aranna, the mistress of the land, the servant of the goddess.

"That which is within the surrounding engraving is the seal of the sun of Aranna, the lord of all the land."

This elaborate description of the two great seals shows that documents received the State seal to make them valid and binding. The one seal is that of the Hittite State; the other that of the Kataonian State, with its capital at Arana in Armenia Minor; apparently Puukhipa, who had married the Hittite prince, was the heiress of the kingdom of Kataonia.

It should be noticed that this treaty is one of a series, the previous kings, Marsar and Saparuru, having made similar treaties before. Unfortunately, the text is defective where the adversary of Mauthnuro is named (line 8); but as his death was not very long past, it is almost certain that he was in the wars of the IInd to VIIIth years, as there is no proof of any subsequent fighting. Hence probably Marsar was the contemporary of Sety I., and Saparuru's treaty was with Horemheb. The outline of the movement seems to have been that during two centuries of submission to Egypt the fighting power of Syria had been weakened. On the failure of Egypt under Akhenaten, the Hittites had pushed down and occupied N. Syria, as we read in the Tell el Amarna letters; and then Horemheb and Sety had made treaties with them, which were summed

up and renewed in this treaty of Ramessu. Unfortunately, the name is lost of the chief of the Kheta in year XXXIV, who gave his eldest daughter to Ramessu, so no connection with the genealogy is possible.

In the XXVIth and XXXth years there are only the burials of two Apis bulls to record, and the first of the series of *sed heb* festivals, which the perverted egotism of Ramessu adapted to his own reign, instead of their commemorating the fixed cycle of Sothis feasts. The endeavour to explain the *sed heb* feast of 30 year intervals as always being a regnal feast, has only been possible by supposing that it was held 30 years after the recognition of a prince as the heir, and did not count from the beginning of the reign. But there is more than one case where this is impossible, as the previous reign was so short that 30 years before the feast the king in question could not have been the heir. And here, though it is commonly recognised that Ramessu had been associated in the kingdom by Sety I., yet his *sed* festival was not started until 30 years of his reign, proving that he did not count from his heirship. The fact is that the *sed* festivals were held at one week's interval of the shift of Sothis rising, and the *hunti* festival at one month's interval of shift, every 120 years. It was only the vanity of Ramessu—the man who is shown worshipping himself—that appropriated this festival to the glorifying of his reign. The references to the various repetitions of these festivals—the IInd, 33rd, 34th; IIIrd, 36th, 37th; IVth, 40th; and VIth, in the 46th year—are given in the preceding list of monuments.

The stele known as that of the Possessed Princess has a date of the 33rd year. It probably was intended to refer to Ramessu II. by the priests who erected it; but owing to the impossibility of our connecting the details with his history, it has generally been supposed to refer to an otherwise unknown Ramessu at the latter part of the dynasty. Its character as a romance for the benefit of priestly rights is, however, now recognised, and it only need be said that it recites an

imaginary expedition of Ramessu to Syria, when the chief of Bekhten brought his daughter with his tribute, and she became a favourite wife of the king, and was named Neferu-ra. (A corrupt version of Maat-neferu-ra, daughter of the chief of the Kheta.) Then in the 15th year the chief of Bekhten sent presents and desired a magician to heal the queen's younger sister, Bentresht. The magician was sent; and a second embassy in the 26th year led to the shrine of Khonsu being sent to Bekhten to heal the princess, staying there over three years, and returning in the 33rd year (R.P. iv. 53).



FIG. 23.—Hittite king and daughter. Abu Simbel. L.D. iii. 196.

The real basis of this is the marriage of the king (at about 52) with the eldest daughter of the chief of Khita, recounted on the stele at Abu Simbel in the XXXIVth year. After the wars of the earlier years both sides saw that no permanent advantage was to be gained; and as time went on, mutual convenience had dictated the treaty of the 21st year. This was reaffirmed by a friendly visit of the chief in the 34th year, by which his eldest daughter was brought to Egypt and married to Ramessu. Unfortunately, the chief's name is lost, and the daughter might be that of Khetasar, or of his successor. The frontier governor hesitated at allowing the large escort to enter, and referred to the king; he at once welcomed the party,

and formally married the Khetan princess. He gave her the Egyptian name of Maat-neferu-Ra, "beholding the beauties of the sun," the name of the dawn-hour, thus really naming the girl as "Dawn." Syria, linked in permanent peace with Egypt, became tranquil and accessible; and one of the most interesting papyri describes a fancy journey through the country, from Qedesh by Gebal, Sidon, and across to Tabor, down the Jordan and back to the coast at Joppa, and on to Raphia (Pap. Anastasi, 1; R.P. ii. 107). The decree of Ptah at Abu Simbel, year XXXV, alludes to this Khetan marriage, but is of no historic value. Its main interest is that it was borrowed wholesale by Ramessu III. at Medinet Habu.



FIG. 24. — Mummy of Ramessu II. Cairo Museum.

Of the latter part of the reign there are no records, except a few trivial papyri and ostraka. The royal family picked up Syrian wives, as when the 23rd son, Si-mentu, married Arit, the daughter of a ship's captain, Bananta, "the son of Anaitis," in the XLIInd year (Rec. xvi. 64). A lawsuit about some fields is dated in the XLVIth year (A.Z. xvii. 71). Some accounts of the royal household are dated in the LIInd year (Rec. xvii. 152). An ostrakon recounts an official visit in the LIIIrd year, made by the king's (9th) son Sety, born of Nefertari, and another son Set·her·khopshef, "of the king, born of his majesty," *i.e.* not titular royal sons (Rec. xvi. 65). And an official declaration is dated in the LXVIth year (Dy. O. 25237). Thus we have no details of the greater part of this reign, and can only say that there do not seem to have been any wars for over fifty years. While the credit of the earlier wars lasted, Egypt was probably untroubled; but as those who had fought died off, Egypt gradually weakened, and her enemies strengthened. The old age of a long reign is always perilous for a fighting

State; and Ramessu, living to 85, could not have undertaken fighting for long before he died. Early in the next reign we find that the Libyans were not only pillaging but settling in the country, and it was thought much for the Egyptians to triumph over even the southern towns of Palestine. It seems then that a long period of gradual decline occupied the greater part of this much boasted reign.

MONUMENTS.

To describe all the monuments of this reign would be fruitless; and the complete list already given of the fixed remains, and of all the important portable objects, must suffice. Here we only notice the principal buildings and important works. As a whole, the art of sculpture and architecture was in its decline; scarcely anything can be shown equal to the works of Sety. The black granite statue at Turin is the only sign of genius in the whole reign, and that is evidently of the earlier years. Where the art is compared with that of Sety, as at Abydos, the difference is painfully striking. Clumsy, careless, and aiming only at cheap effect, the buildings are below the level of any that had been yet erected.

The tomb in the valley of the kings' tombs, No. 7, is but little known owing to its being filled with sand and mud. But it is a large work, about 400 feet long. A corridor of 150 feet leads to two halls of 25 feet; 60 feet more corridor leads to a large hall of 44 feet square, and four others. It is therefore of the same length and rather larger area than the tomb of his father Sety, though it does not equal that in sculpture or design. One scene is published of the king adoring Har-akhti (L.D. iii. 172 g).

The well-known mummy of Ramessu was found in the royal hiding-place of Deir el Bahri. It had been removed by Herhor to the tomb of Sety I. at about 1100 B.C.; the wrappings had there been renewed, and

probably the new coffin supplied, by Pinezem, at about 1065 B.C.; it was next removed from thence to the tomb of Anhapu at about 973 B.C.; then to the tomb of Amenhotep about 963 B.C.; and finally put into the Deir el Bahri pit after 960 B.C.

The stature of Ramessu was over 5 ft. 8 in. originally. The mummy is well preserved, and it still bears



FIG. 25.—Black granite figure of Ramessu II. Turin.

strongly the stamp of the haughty self-satisfaction and pride of the monarch.

At Sarabit a stele of the yr. II. was erected; also steles in years V. and VIII., and a doorway.

Tanis was one of the principal sites adopted by Ramessu. He entirely remodelled the temple, and his original works here include the great colossus of granite 92 feet high; 10 great granite obelisks; 4 quartzite colossi; 8 great granite steles of 9 to 16 feet

high ; 2 columns with scenes 20 feet high ; 2 quartzite shrines, 9 feet long ; and many portions of granite building. The colossus, of which the foot and various fragments were found, was the greatest work that he made ; and it must have towered high above the temple, and been visible for many miles over the plains. The most historical monument here is the "stele of 400 years." On this the king, and Sety the vizier, royal scribe, keeper of the mares, keeper of the desert, keeper of the fortress of Zalu, etc., adore the god Set ; the king states that this is put up for the names of his ancestors Ramessu I. and Sety I.; and in the 400th year of the king Set-aa-pehti, son of the sun Nubti, the official Sety adores Set. Now putting this at 1280 B.C. as a middle date, we reach 1680 B.C. for Nubti, or 1700–1637 as limits. This would put Nubti to the period of Apepa II., in the XVIIth dynasty, of which we as yet know nothing in detail. The proposal that the entry of 990 years at the XXIVth dynasty in Manetho refers to this same era is unlikely: that dynasty was 725–719 B.C. ; and 590 years before that would be 1315–1309 B.C., which would not agree to the reign of Ramessu. Probably 990 is a copyist's note of time elapsed at about 270 A.D., Julius Africanus having written at 221 A.D. The stele is published in Rev. A. xi. pl. iv., and translated in R.P. iv. 33.

The general appreciation of the rich Delta land, in which Ramessu had made a new capital, is shown in the letter of Panbesa (*Pap. Anast.* iii.). The richness of the fields, the abundance of corn and vegetables, the fruit and wine, the variety of fish, all gratified the visitor who came from the scorched plain of Thebes. The people are joyful and festive ; "the virgins of Aa-nekhtu are well clad every day, sweet oil on their heads with fresh curls : they stand at their doors, their hands adorned with nosegays and flowers," to welcome the king. Sweet wines and syrups and beer abound ; and sweet singers, as at Memphis, amid ceaseless joys. Such was the garden-city which delighted the decadent age of Egypt.

The eastern side of the Delta was also decorated with temples and buildings at several places, Nebesheh, Qantir, Mendes, Sebennytus, Tell Mokdam, Bubastis, Athribis, and Tell el Yehudiyeh; while a great store place, Pithom, was built at Tell el Maskhuta. The west was less important; but Kom el Hisn, Kom Zimran, and Terraneh all show the name of Ramessu.

Heliopolis was also adorned with obelisks, two of which are now in Rome, those of the Piazza del Popolo and the Pantheon.

At Memphis the temple was rebuilt, and large statues of the king were placed there, two of which are well known, and still to be seen on the site. The statues of Ptah, almost the only great figures known of deities, are in Cairo Museum. The great fist (in B. Mus.) shows that a granite colossus also existed. The Serapeum was also continually used, burials of Apis bulls being dated in the 16th, 26th, and 30th years, and five others being undated. The important burial is that by Kha-em-uas, which is noted under the family list below.

At Illahun the pyramid of Usertesen II. was stripped of stone, as shown by the graffiti. At Herakleopolis Ramessu rebuilt the temple, partly from older material.

Passing by minor sites, we reach Abydos, where a portico and some trifling additions to the Osiris temple were made. The main works there were in altering the plan and adding sculptures to the temple of Sety, and building another temple entire. The portico was an hexastyle approach to the cemetery after passing through the Osiris temenos, apparently a funereal road for processions. The temple of Sety was probably built before this reign; but five of the seven entrances were blocked up, and much carving was done on surfaces of the court and first hall, which had not been sculptured by Sety. The principal work was a second temple (plan M.A. vol. i. 1; sculptures ii.–xx.), which, though smaller than that of Sety, is a considerable work, 233 feet long and 125 wide, with a gateway of red granite and five blocks of alabaster in the shrines.

On the front wall is a long series of captive peoples, on the sides are battle scenes with the Kheta ; but as the walls have been destroyed to within a few feet of the ground only fragments of the inscriptions remain, including part of the poem of Pentaur. In the interior is a long procession ; a list of cities making offerings ; some astronomical and religious fragments ; the base of the list of kings now in the British Museum, which was bought from the French Consul ; parts of the Litany of the Sun ; and a large number of chambers and niches dedicated to different gods.



FIG. 26.—Red granite statue of Ramessu II. Luqsor.

From Koptos comes a fine red granite triad of Ramessu between Isis and Nebhat, besides steles.

At Karnak the sculptures of the great hall were largely done in this reign, and the southern half of the columns. The enclosure wall around the whole of the early temple, and a building at the back of it ; sculptures in the temple of Ptah to the north of it ; and many separate sculptures, all belong to Ramessu. The things of main importance, the poem of Pentaur and the Hittite treaty, we have already described.

At Luqsor the beautiful and symmetrical temple of Amenhotep III. had a new peristyle court added in front of it, much askew, in order to accommodate it to the avenue of sphinxes which led to Karnak. The great pylon walls in front of this court have the standard scenes of the Hittite war, with the poem of Pentaur. Against the inside of the pylon is a small temple constructed of fragments of Tahutmes III. Before the pylon stood two obelisks, one of which was removed to Paris ; also four standing and two

seated colossi, which have excellent figures of queen Nefertari. Between the columns of the peristyle court are several standing granite colossi; the larger ones, in a line across the axis, having also figures of Nefertari. There have also been battle scenes on the side and back walls of this court, which are now nearly all removed.

At Qurneh the king finished the sculpturing in



FIG. 27.—Temple of Qurneh, front colonnade.

honour of Sety I. on the temple which was built for Ramessu I.

At the Ramesseum the ground which had begun to be laid out for the funereal temple of Sety was appropriated by Ramessu II., whose foundation deposits were placed under the stones. The construction of the temple we have already noted in the history of its building. The inner side of the pylon, which is well preserved, has two great scenes, the Egyptian camp and the battle of Qedesh. The same battle is on the only part left of the peristyle court, which has lately been strengthened by buttresses. The other remaining scenes are on the lesser halls, the king

seated beneath the *persea* tree, and figures of the gods and sacred boats. Most important is the horoscope on the roof giving the date 1318 B.C., doubtless that of the king's birth. The portions of the enormous red granite colossus seated are most striking; it is considered to have weighed about 1000 tons, and was therefore heavier than the colossus of Tanis, which probably weighed 800 or 900 tons, though this was



FIG. 28.—Temple of Gerf Huseyn.

about 57 feet high as seated, against about 90 feet high for the standing colossus.

At Deir el Bahri Ramessu re-engraved the scenes of Hatshepsut, which had been destroyed by Akhenaten, and appropriated them with his own name.

At the quarries of Silsileh are two rock shrines and steles, and a few other remains farther up. But it was in Nubia that great activity was shown in temple building.

Beit el Wally contains an important series of scenes, which are familiar from the coloured casts in the British Museum. The Syrian scenes are much the same as elsewhere, but there is also shown a negro war and

tribute which is full of detail (A.B. 38). The temple is mainly cut in the rock, and is best shown by Gau, who miscalls it Kalabsheh (G.D. 12).

Another such rock temple is Gerf Huseyn, best shown in G.D. 28, named Guircheh. It has a court backing into the cliff, and a large hall and six chambers in the rock ; but there are no scenes of historical value.

The stele of Qubban we have noticed in the history of the 3rd year. The temple of Wady Sebuå is like



FIG. 29.—Temple of Abu Simbel, looking south.

that of Gerf Huseyn ; and that of Derr is on the plan of Abu Simbel. These do not contain any history. At Abu Simbel is the grandest piece of rock work in Egypt, the great temple to Ra on the western bank. The plan was probably like that of Derr, an open court backing against the cliff, as large blocks of the masonry of the front of the court are shown by Gau (G.D. 57). At the back of the court are four seated colossi of the king carved in the rock, 65 feet high ; the southern

one has figures of his mother Tuaa, queen Nefertari, and Amen-her-khopshef; the next has Nebt-taui and Banutantha. There is no record of the northern figures. On the south side of the court is the stele of the Hittite marriage in the 34th year. The great hall is first entered, 50 × 54 feet, with four standing colossi on each side against the pillars. On the southern side of the door is a group of king and captives, with the king's sons below; and along the south side are war

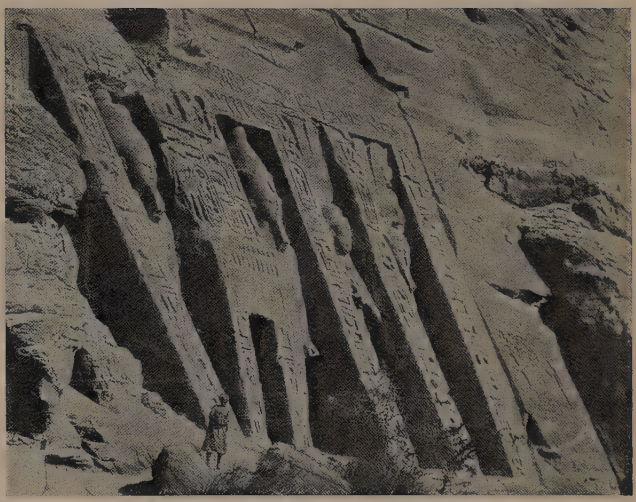


FIG. 30.—Lesser temple of Abu Simbel.

scenes with the Syrians at the top, the Libyans, and at the base the triumph with the negroes. On the northern side of the door is another group, with the king's daughters below; and along the north wall the battle of Qedesh. On the south of the inner door is the king with negro captives; on the north with Hittite captives. The stele of the 35th year is between two of the southern pillars. The lesser hall, 36 × 25 feet, farther in, has scenes of devotion to the barques of

Ra and Amen. After passing another chamber the back sanctuary in the axis is reached, containing an altar before the figures of Ptah, Amen, Ramessu, and Ra. There are also ten plain chambers which were for store rooms.

The lesser temple, of Hathor, has a façade of 90 feet wide, which does not seem to have had a court before it. On either side of the doorway are two standing colossi of Ramessu with one of Nefertari between them. Figures of Amen-her-khopshef, Pa-ra-her-un-amif, Merytum, Meryra, Merytamen, and Hent-taui are beside the colossi. The great hall has eight pillars with Hathor sistra on them. The scenes are not historical, but of devotion to Hathor, Set, Horus, Anuke, Amen, Ptah, Hershefi, Har-akhti, and Mut. The shrine has the Hathor cow, and adoration to Hathor and Mut. Adjoining the façade on the north is the stele of the architect Ramesses-asau-heb. Beyond that is another which does not seem to be published.

To the south of the great temple is a small temple dedicated to Tahuti, cut in the rock; and farthest south is the inscription of Setau (L.D. iii. 195 b, c).

At Faras is a rock shrine; at Akhseh are the foundations of a temple; and far south, at Napata, a temple to Amen, the god of the city, was built by Ramessu.

The statues of this king are numerous, but very few can be valued as works of art. The beautiful seated figure of black granite at Turin is finer than any other; at the sides of the legs are figures of Nefertari and Amen-her-khepshef. There are also two standing figures holding insignia, and two seated figures, all of granite, at Cairo; some of these are said to be usurped, so constant was this practice, but they are all original. The other figures are not unusual, except the bronze ushabti at Paris.

Of transported monuments the most important are the obelisks. Beside those from Heliopolis and Luqsor, already mentioned, there are at Rome two upper parts of obelisks from the temple of Isis (Villa Mattei and

Bibliotheca Casanatense), a fragment in the Collegio Romano, a small obelisk in the Boboli garden at Florence from the circus of Flora at Rome. As a usurpation Ramessu has placed his inscriptions on most of the known obelisks. Of the various minor pieces and steles already catalogued here two are peculiar: a figure of the king as a child seated (P. Mus.), and a young figure kneeling on the *heb* holding palm branches, with a row of hawk heads above and below the panel (C. Mus.).

Of small objects the fine gold inlaid pectoral found in the Serapeum is the most important. This was placed in a burial of fragments of an Apis, which seems to have been ceremonially eaten. The bronze box is peculiar, in Leyden, with a row of ten figures of nomes or of Hapi around it. There are many small objects, glazed pectorals, amulets, etc., with the king's name, but they are not of historic or artistic importance, and hardly any of them are published in figure.

The papyri and ostraka we have already noticed when dated. Those of the Kheta war, the poem of Pentaur, and the travels in Syria have also been used here. The minor papyri contain no historical particulars.

Royal Family.

The family of Ramessu is somewhat obscure owing to its great extent. We know of only three queens by name; but the record of at least 79 sons and 59 daughters (which probably implies double that number of children, allowing for infant mortality), suggests that his concubines were probably as readily accumulated as those of an Arabian Khalifa.

Nefertari Mery-mut was already married to the king in the 1st year, as shown by the tomb of Nebunnef; but it is not known how long her life or influence lasted, as she does not appear on any of the dated sculptures of later years. Certainly she was prominent during the carving of the Abu Simbel

temples, where she is often shown. Two children of hers are known, the 9th son Sety, and another son Anub-er-rekhu. At Abu Simbel she appears as the priestess of Hathor, Mut, and Anuke; and is called the heiress princess of south and north, pointing to her being the heiress of the kingdom. She is on the colossi at Abu Simbel and Luqsor, and on the black granite seated figure at Turin. A fine granite statue of her is in the Vatican, but unhappily repolished; a base and a statuette are known. Her tomb was found, 1904, in the valley of the queens' tombs. Scarabs of hers are not rare; and she was placed in the list of worshipped Osirians.



Fig. 31.—Queen Nefertari. Abu Simbel. L.D. iii. 193.

Ast-nefert was the mother of the 2nd son Ramessu, and of the two most important sons, the 4th, Khaemuas, and the 13th, Merenptah, and of the eldest daughter, Banut-antha; so it appears that she was married at the beginning of the reign. She is shown on three provincial monuments with her children; a group with her sons is in Paris, also one scarab. A door jamb of a child of hers is in Cairo Mus.

Maat-neferu-ra, the eldest daughter of the chief of the Kheta, was married in the 34th year, when Ramessu was about 51. The name "Dawn" was given her, as "Beholding the beauties of Ra." She is represented with her father on the stele on the south face of the court in the great temple at Abu Simbel (L.D. iii. 196), and on one of the colossi at Tanis. A plaque of hers was found at Tell el Yehudiyeh.

The eldest son was Amen-her-khopshef who appears

on the three standard lists (the Ramesseum, Luqsor, and Derr), on two temples, and on the Turin statue. It appears that his name was varied as Amen-her-unmif, who only is shown at Beit el Wally, and is called the heir, the chief son, while the name Amen-her-khopshef never appears there. It is improbable that either of two sons would have died before all the figures of the other were sculptured; even then it is unlikely that two elder sons should never be shown together on scenes or in lists. It is more likely that for some reason the name was varied at Beit el Wally.



FIG. 32.—Queen Nefertari, on statue of Ramessu II. Luqsor.

2. Ramessu, son of Ast-nefert, is shown with his mother and brother Khaemuas, on a small group in Paris, and on steles at Aswan and Silsileh. He appears in the three lists, and fighting at Abu Simbel; a statue was dedicated for him as deceased, while his brother Khaemuas was living, by the son of Khaemuas. An ushabti was placed in the Serapeum in the 26th year, while he was alive.

3. Pa-ra-her-unmif appears in the three lists; in his chariot, and on a colossus, at Abu Simbel; and a scarab of his is known.

4. Khaemuas seems to have been the most important son. He was high priest, and was adopted as heir in about the 30th year. He was a son of Ast-nefert, as is shown, at Silsileh (L.D. iii. 174 e, 175 e), at Aswan

(L.D. iii. 175 h), on the group in Paris, and on an ushabti (P.M. xx.). He is in the three lists; and as a youth he appears fighting in the Syrian wars on the Ramesseum, Karnak, and Beit el Wally. Later he appears as the high priest of the family; in year 16 as the *sam* priest in the tomb of Apis II., with his ushabti figures to work for him as servants of the Apis; similarly in Apis III. of the 26th year; in the 30th year, Apis IV., he does not appear; but in Apis IX., year unknown, he is the *ur kherp uba*, *sam*, high priest of Memphis. From the 30th to 40th years he superintended the four *sed heb* festivals. He was succeeded in his offices in the 55th year by Merenptah (Ms. S.N. 426), who is shown as *sam* priest on the stele of Apis X. (M.S. iii. 21). He was buried at Gizeh, where his tomb has been found at Kafr el Batran; his ushabtis come partly from that (P.M. xx.) and partly from the Serapeum (M.S. iii. 10, 11, 13); from the tomb comes the canopic jar (M.D. 36 d), and from the Serapeum a canopic jar for the Apis III., "made by Khaemuas." He buried amulets with his name and titles with Apis III. and Apis IX. The burials of Apis II. and III. were found intact, and caused great surprise to Mariette. On opening the sarcophagus of Apis II. he found no mummy, but there was only a lid hollowed out and laid flat on the ground over a bituminous mass which contained only a profusion of small chips of bone; a splendid pectoral of gold inlaid, and six bull-headed ushabtis were with it. Of Apis III. there



FIG. 33.—Sons of Ramessu II. Luqsor.

was also no box, but only a hollow under the lid, which covered a bituminous mass with chips of bone ; fifteen bull-headed ushabtis ; others of Khaemuas, Rames, Huy prince of Memphis, Suy, Hataa, Ptah-nefer-her, scribe Khaemuas, and women Qedit and Huy ; and amulets with the name of Khaemuas and a fine pectoral of Pasar ; also a second pectoral and a ram-headed vulture of gold inlaid, with much gold leaf. It was evident then that the sacred Apis was not embalmed, but was sacramentally eaten, as is stated to have been the case with the ram at Thebes, and as is well known



FIG. 34.—Inlaid pectoral of Ramessu II. Serapeum. M.S. 9.

to have been done with sacred animals elsewhere. There is a fine statue of Khaemuas in the Brit. Mus., a portion of one from Memphis, and his figure in some scenes. There remains a report addressed to him as governor of Memphis about six runaway slaves.

5. Mentu-her-khopshef appears in all three lists, and in the Syrian war. His heart scarab is at Berlin ; and he usurped a figure at Bubastis. He was specially over the horses and chariots.

6. Nebenkharu only occurs in the three lists, and at the siege of Dapur.

7. Meryamen is named at the Ramesseum and Luqsor, and shown at the siege of Dapur and at Karnak.

8. Amenemua occurs in the above two lists, and at Derr as Setyemua. Also at the siege of Dapur.

9. Sety, son of Nefertari, was living in year 53. He is in the above two lists, at the siege of Dapur, and at Karnak.

10. Sotepenra. 11. Ramery. 12. Herherumif. See list.

13. Merenptah, son of Astnefert, was adopted as heir in year 55, in succession to Khaemuas. He became *sam* priest, and officiated at the Serapeum (M.S. iii. 21). Beside the lists he appears at Bubastis, Tanis, and Heliopolis; all mention of him is thus in the Delta.



FIG. 35.—Bantanta, on statue of Ramessu II. Memphis.

14–79. Of these sons, fifteen are known by name (see list), but are of no historical importance. A jamb of a door of Rames·mery·set is in Cairo Mus.

The eldest daughter was Banutanta, or Bintanta, "daughter of Anaitis," the Syrian goddess. Her mother was Astnefert, with whom she is shown at Silsileh (L.D. 174 e) and Aswan (175 h). She heads the list of daughters at Luqsor, and appears on statues at Sinai, Tanis, Karnak, and Abu Simbel, and in the list

of Osirians (L.K. xxii.). Her tomb is in the valley of the Queens' Tombs. From her being called not only "royal daughter" but "great royal wife," it has been concluded that (Persian fashion) Ramessu had married this daughter. This is the more likely because, as we have noticed (p. 6), the title royal wife is not known to have been used as an empty title, but implied marriage.

2. Ka . . a . . . 3. Bakmut. See the list.

4. Merytamen is the 4th at Luqsor, the 5th at Abu Simbel. Her tomb is at the Queens' Tombs, where she



FIG. 36.—Merytamen. L.D. iii. 298.

also has the title of great royal wife, lady of both lands, pointing to her marriage with Ramessu (L.D. iii. 172). She appears in a scene at Abu Simbel, and on statues there and at Tanis. A vase (P. Mus.) and scarabs are also known.

5. Piqay. 6. *x*. 7. Nefertari. See list.

8. Nebttaui is shown on a colossus at Abu Simbel, and her tomb is in the Queens' Tombs. She is also great royal wife, and was therefore probably married to Ramessu. But she also seems to have been married to a subject, as her daughter Astemakh was not a

child of the king (Rec. xi. 81); and as she must have been over 40 at the death of Ramessu, she is not likely to have married then. Either, therefore, she was married to a subject after the king; or the bead of Astemakh refers to princess Nebta, daughter of Amenhotep. Of

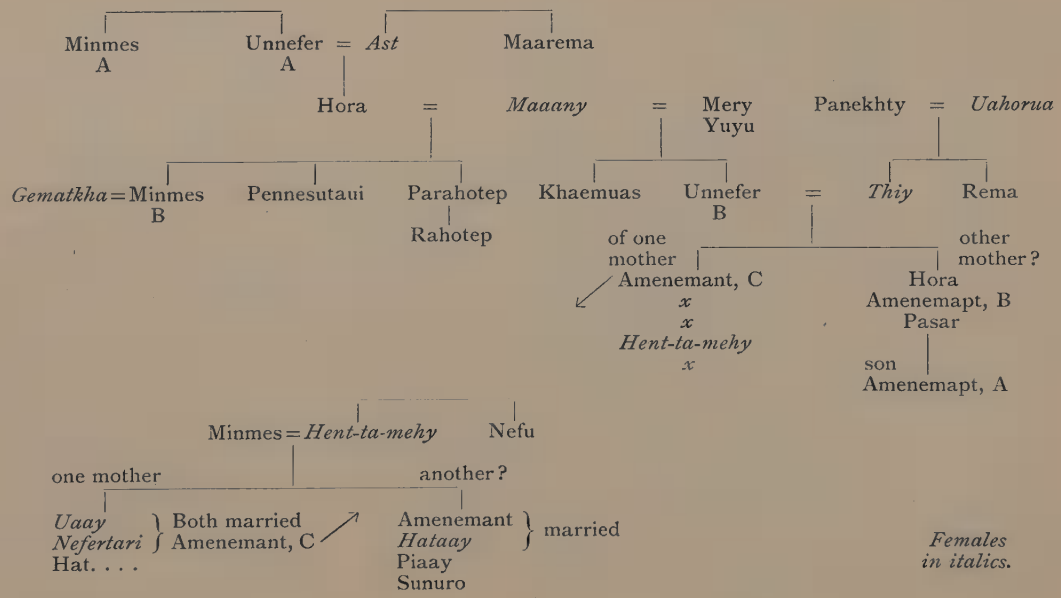


FIG. 37.—Daughters of Ramessu II. Abu Simbel.

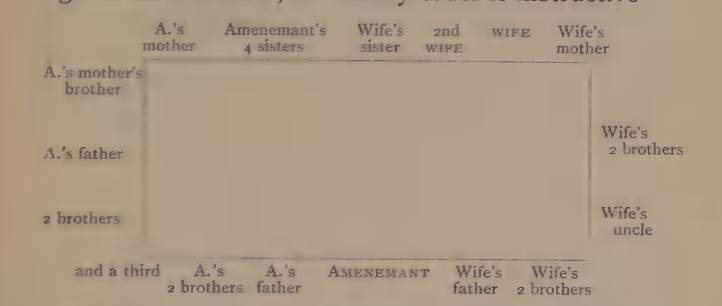
the remaining daughters up to No. 59, only the names are known as already given in the list.

PRIVATE MONUMENTS.

There is a greater abundance of private names fixed to this reign than to any other, partly owing to its length, and partly owing to a greater diffusion of wealth among the minor officials. The viziers are here distinguished by the names being in capitals. One of the greatest families of the time, of which nearly every member held high office, is shown in the following table; each name will be found in detail in the list:—


Minmes A
Unnefer A
Ast
Maarema
Hora
Maaany
Mery Yuyu
Panekhty
Uahorua
Gematkha
Minmes B
Pennesutaui
Parahotep
Rahotep
Khaemuas
Unnefer B
Thiy
Rema
of one mother
other mother?
Amenemant, C
x
x
Hent-ta-mehy
x
Hora
Amenemapt, B
Pasar
son
Amenemapt, A
Minmes
Hent-ta-mehy
Nefu
one mother
another?
Uaay
Nefertari
Hat. . . .
Both married
Amenemant, C
Amenemant
Hataay
Piaay
Sunuro
married
Females in italics.

On the large family monument of Amenemant, C, with figures all around it, the family order is instructive—



Thus the two sides of the family proceed in regular order, and yet all the women are on one side together.

Aaa, Abydos stele (M.A. 1128).

Ameneman, priest of Khonsu, Berlin pap. (A.Z. xvii. 72).

Amenemant, A, scribe of books of the king; statue, Petersburg (Lb. P. 4); papyri, Turin (P.P.T. 9).

Amenemant, B, *sedem em ast maat*, steles, T. Mus. (L.T. 1463, Rec. ii. 188); T. Mus. (L.T. 1518, 1519?).

Amenemant, C, chief of Mazayu, chief archer of the troops, over works of monuments. Naples (B.T. 953–5).

Amenemant, D, a leader. Naples (B.T. 954).

AMENEMAPT, A, viceroy of Kush, son of Pasar; Abu Simbel (L.D. iii. 176 f); collar given (in C.M. 68, 69).

Amenemapt, B, high priest of Heliopolis. Naples (B.T. 953).

Amenemapt, C, over the *ahu*, son of Amenhotep, high priest of Amen (M.I. i. p. 88, 63 = M.D. 72, 49).

Amenemapt, D, scribe (L.D. iii. 184 d).

Amenemapt, E, scribe, stele, C. Mus.

Amenemapt, F, *kherheb* Serapeum stele, Apis IV. yr. 30 (M.S. iii. 17).

Amenemapt, G, *kazena*. Naples (Lb. D. 905).
Amenemheb, A, *si-suten*, son of the *sab x*, stele, Derr (L.D. 184 c).
Amenemheb, B, scribe of royal table. Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).
Amenhotep, *kherheb* of Amen. Berlin pap. (A.Z. xvii. 72).
Amenmes, A, chief of works, palette (C.M. 191, 4).
Amenmes, B, royal scribe, B. Mus. stele 161.
Amenmes, C, divine father of Hershefi (M.A. 1138).
Ameny, Wady Maghara (E.G. 537).
Aniy, son of Pasar, *kherheb* of Amen (C.N. i. 523).
ANY, A, viceroy of Kush; Abu Simbel (C.M. iv. 2); from time of Sety I. (L.D. iii. 138 n).
Any, B, *kherheb* of Amen (A.Z. xvii. 72).
Anpuau, seated figure. Leyden (L. Mon. ii. v., D. 36).
Apeni, naval officer, stele, B. Mus. 365.
Apu, over builders, stele, B. Mus. 166 (Lb. D. 888).
Apu, priest, Serapeum stele, Apis IV., yr. 30 (M.S. iii. 15; Rec. xxi. 71).
Apuy, tomb, Deir el Medineh, *zat*, over table of Amen (M.A.F. v. 604–12).
Ast, *qemat* of Isis, stele, B. Mus. 132 (Lb. D. 890).
Ati, seal-bearer, canopic jar, P. Mus. (P.L. 370).
Ay, *qemat* of Amen, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).
Bak, chief *kazena*, P. Mus. stele, c. 96 (P.R. ii. 41).
Baknaa, keeper of horse, yr. 31, stele, Thebes, B. Mus. 164.
Bakamen, *qemat* of Amen, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).
Bakenamen, A, keeper of palace, plaque. F.P. Coll.
Bakenamen, B, keeper of cattle of Ramesseum, stele, B.M. 132 (Lb. D. 890).
Bakenamen, C, overseer of works, Gizeh (L.D. 142 i).
Bakenkhonsu, son of Amenemapt, high priest of Amen, statue, Munich (*Rev. Arch.* II. ser. vi. 101; P. Ins. iii. 45; R.P. xii. 117); statue, Karnak, C. Mus. (Rec. xxvii. 71); granite sarcophagus, Liverpool (G.L. 117); coffin and heart, scarab, Berlin (Berl. Cat. pp. 172, 189); plaque

and handle (S.B.A. xxiii. 222); in papyrus, Berlin (A.Z. xvii. 72). (See D.M. i. 275.)

Bakenkhonsu, chief *uab* of Ptah in Ramesseum, pyramid, Vienna (Rec. ix. 51).

Bakenmutf, B. Mus. stele, 328.

Bakta, *qemat* of Tahutmes III., stele, P. Mus. (P.R. ii. 77).

Bakur, stele, Koptos (Rec. ix. 100).

Banmeryt, chief architect, Karnak (Rec. xxvii. 71).

Duatnefer, *qemat* of Amen, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).

Dumin, adoring king, Aswan, rock stele (P.S. 146).

Fuamer, high priest of Amen, baboon, Koptos (P. Kop. 16).

Hapui, statue, Karnak (Rec. xxvii. 71).

Hataa, *zat*, 26th year, shabti (M.S. iii. 14).

Hataay, high priest of Mentu. Naples (B.T. 954).

Hentmehit, *qemat* of Amen. Naples (B.T. 955).

Hor, A, divine father, jasper scarab amulet, C. Mus. (M.D. 48, c. 1–2).

Hor, B, over the *aht*, B. Mus. stele 132 (Lb. D. 890).

Hora, A, high priest of Anhur, figure Abydos (Ab. i. lxv., Ab. ii. 46); vase, Abydos (Rec. xxiv. 164). Naples (B.T. 953).

Hora, B, *zat*. Abydos, stele (M.A. 1138).

Hora, C, overseer of cattle. B. Mus. stele 132 (Lb. D. 890),

Hora, D, scribe of treasury, papyrus, Turin (P.P.T. 41, xxix.).

Horames, chief guard of treasury; tomb (C.N. i. 517).

Horamin, scribe of palace, Memphis, statue, Leyden (L. Mon. ii. ix., D. 38).

Horemheb, A, scribe (L.D. iii. 184 d).

Horemheb, B, inspector (L.D. iii. 184 d).

Hornekht, A, prophet of Min, B. Mus. 132 (Lb. D. 890).

Hornekht, B, scribe (L.D. iii. 184 d).

Horuti-mes, plaque. F.P. Coll.

Hu-dadui, *kazena*, B. Mus. stele 166 (Lb. D. 888).

Huy, A, viceroy of Kush, Sehel stele (M.I. i. pp. 84, 8; pp. 96, 153 = M.D. lxxi. 53).

Huy, B, great prince of Memphis, shabti, yr. 26 (M.S. iii. 14).

Huy, C, high priest of Memphis, shabti, yr. 26 (M.S. iii. 10).

Huy, D, overseer of workmen on monuments; chief of Mazay (L.D. iii. 175 b); keeper of temple of Ram. II., south of Memphis (A.Z. xiv. 70); ? same, glazed bead, Serapeum. P. Mus. (P.L. 545).

Huy, E, son of palace keeper, Nefertari. Berlin 2080 (W.G. 471).

Huy, F, *sedem em ast*, steles, Turin (L.T. 1463, 1607–9; Rec. ii. 188).

Huy, G, priest of Amen, Berlin pap. (A.Z. xvii. 72).

Huy, H, scribe, Abydos, C. Mus. (W.G. 471); same?, Berl. pap. (A.Z. xvii. 72).

Huy, J, brother of Bakaa, stele, B. Mus. 166.

Huy, K, a woman, shabti, Serapeum (M.S. iii. 14).

Huynefer, *sedem em ast*, B. Mus. stele 328 (Lb. D. 891); ? stele, T. Mus. 1609 (Rec. ii. 196).

Iri, Carlsberg (S.G.C. p. 112).

Kanekht, *adennu*, adoring R. II.; plaque, P. Mus. (P.L. 511).

Kasa, tomb, Deir el Medineh, cemetery official (S.B.A. viii. 226); naos, Turin (Rec. ii. 197).

Kaza, son of Tahutmes, scribe, Faras (C.N. i. 40).

Khaemapt, royal scribe, stele, Stuttgart (S.P.S.S. i. xviii.).

Khaemuas, A, scribe of workmen, yr. 26; Serapeum, shabti (M.S. iii. 14).

Khaemuas, B, scribe of divine papyri in temple of Amen. Naples (B.T. 953).

KHAY, A, vizier, yr. 10, statue, C. Mus.; yr. 40, stele, Silsileh (C.M. 118; B.T. 1128); yr. 46, stele, 6th *sed heb*, Silsileh (C.M. 119; B.T. 1128); statue, Karnak (Rec. xxvii. 71); base and piece of statue, Dattari Coll. (S.B.A. xxii. 62).

Khay, B, scribe of treasury; two figures, C. Mus. (R.E. 30; M.D. 63 f); and four pillars in C. Mus.

Khay, C, scribe of offerings, Abydos, stele (M.A.

1128); squatting figure, P. Mus. (R.N.M. p. 35, No. 65),

Khonsu, A, over lands, Serapeum stele, Apis IV., yr. 30 (M.S. iii. 17).

Khonsu, B, divine father of Hershefi, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1138).

Khonsu, C, high priest of Tahutmes III., tomb, Qurneh.

Mahu, scribe and *wekil* of Ramesseum, tomb, Assassif; stele, Turin (L.T. 1465).

Mahuhi, 1st proph. Amen, Karnak, statue (Rec. xxvii. 71).

Maruma, priest of Min and Isis. Naples (Lb. D. 905).

May, overseer of works, son of Bakenamen, Gizeh (L.D. iii. 142 i, k); fragment, Carlsberg (S.G.C. p. 109); ? same, stele, T. Mus. (L.T. 1579).

Menkheper, son of Mahu, keeper of horses, Sehel (M.I. i. pp. 94, 138 [= L.D. iii. 175 k]; pp. 95, 149; pp. 102, 230).

Merenptah, son of Pamerkau, seated figure and ushabtis, Nebesheh (P.N. 12).

Mery, A, high priest of Osiris under Sety I., Abydos, steles (M.A. 1126; P. Mus. A. 66, C. 97, P.R. i. 3–5, ii. 53); in group, red granite (R.M.A. xxxvii.).

Mery, B, *kherheb* of Osiris; on group, Abydos (R.M.A.).

Merykhnumu. Sehel (M.I. i. pp. 99, 177).

Messui, viceroy of Kush. Bigel (C.N. i. 614); stele, Beit el Wally (L.D. iii. 176 g).

Minmes, A, high priest of Min and Isis, Naples (B.T. 953).

Minmes, B, high priest of Anhur, statue, Luqsor (S.B.A. xxiii. 250); figure (P. Ab. lxvi.); figure, Brighton (S.B.A. xxiii. 14); Abydos (Rec. xxiv. 164).

Minmes, C, named Kanuro, scribe of accounts; stele, P. Mus. C. 218 (P.R. ii. 134; T.S.B.A. viii. 336).

Minmes, D, verifier in temple of Sokar, Naples (B.T. 954).

Mutnezem, *qemat* of Amen, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).
Nathy or *Nathia*, *qemat* of Amen, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).
Nebnekhtuf, overseer of works of Ramesseum, stele, Koptos (P. Kop. 15, xix.); Sehel, stele (M.I. i. pp. 96, 157).
Nebnefer, keeper of rolls, T. Mus. stele (L.T. 1464, 1587?).
Nebunnef, high priest of Amen, tomb, Thebes, yr. 1 (L.D.T. ii. 239; C.N. i. 851); piece of statue with wife Takhat, Cairo (W.G. 470).
Nefer, *zat*, 2nd priest of Amen, ushabti box, Draa-abul-negga. C. Mus.
Neferher, scribe of palace records, yr. 62, stele, B. Mus. 163 (Lb. D. 889).
Neferher or *Ptahneferher*, ushabti, yr. 26, Serapeum (M.S. iii. 14).
Neferhotep, A, high priest of Tahutmes I., tomb, Qurneh.
Neferhotep, B, cemetery official, tomb, Deir el Medineh (S.B.A. vii. 228); stele, Turin (Rec. ii. 183; L.T. 1464); B. Mus. stele, 267 (Lb. D. 684).
Neferhotep, C, scribe of table, stele, P. Mus. C. 148.
Neferhotep, D, woman, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).
NEFER-RENPIT, A, vizier, high priest of Ptah. Seated figure, L. Mus. (L. Mon. ii. xi. 44); stele, Berl. 2290 (S.I. i. 103); name on temple block, El Kab; granite tank, figure at end, B. Mus. 108; pyramid, Liverpool (Rec. x. 131; Lb. D. 1068); wooden door, T. Mus. (L.T. 1464); scarab (N.S. xxxv. 23); plaques, B. Mus. (P. Sc. 1602), Newberry; ostrakon, C. Mus. (Dy. O. 25290).
Neferrenpit, B, scribe of granaries, B. Mus. stele 132 (Lb. D. 890).
Neferrenpit, C, keeper of stores of Ptah, yr. 30, stele, Apis IV. (M.S. iii. 18).
Neferrenpit, D, cemetery official, steles, Berlin, 2093. T. Mus. (L.T. 1592).
Nefermut, *qemat* of Amen, stele, P. Mus. (P.R. ii. 77).
Nefertari, A, second name of *Thiy*.

Nefertari, B, *qemat* of Amen, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128); Naples (B.T. 955).

Nefu, chief archer of the troops. Naples (B.T. 955).

Nehatemua, *qemat* of Hathor, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1138).

Nehesi, vizier, as treasurer. Statue, B. Mus. (A.B. 55).

Nekhtmin, chief archer, Aswan stele (L.D. 175 i); girdle amulet, red glass. F.P. Coll.

Nekhtsu, over stores of Ptah, yr. 30, Apis IV., stele (M.S. iii. 18).

Nekhtu, adoring Queen Nefertari, tomb (L.D. 195 d).

Nezem, keeper of Ramesseum, stele (Ab. ii. xxxviii.).

Nezem, over king's travelling. Plaque. F.P. Coll.

Nezemger, over the water of Ramesseum, tomb (C.N. i. 519) (R.L. 134); stele, yr. 62, B. Mus.

Paka, scribe in Ramesseum, Assassif tomb.

Pakamsi, amulet, Serapeum. P. Mus. (P.L. 546).

Pamay, scribe of table, plaque, T. Mus. (P. Sc. 1601).

Panehes, *kazena*, B. Mus., stele 166 (Lb. D. 888).

Panehesi, scribe and treasurer (vizier under Merenptah), kneeling figure, Thebes, B. Mus. 51 b (Lb. D. 885; A.B. pl. 55).

Paraemheb, keeper of cattle of Ramesseum, Rouen, ushabti (Rec. ii. 151).

Parahotep, vizier, brother of Unnefer, stele (M.A. 1126 = M.A. ii. 41); stele, P. Mus., A. 66 (P.R. i. 3–5); stele with May (M.A. 1160); squatting figure, granite (Ab. ii. xxxv. 2, xxxvii.); on vase, Abydos (Rec. xxiv. 164); plaque, Murch Coll. Rahotep, vizier, his son.

Pasahuta, scribe of temple, son of Roma, Abydos, steles (M.A. 1131–2).

Pasar, A, vizier (see S.B.A. xxiv. 324); tomb, Qurneh (C.N. i. 520–5, 846–7; C.M. 170; L.D. iii. 132 n–r; B.T. 1224); much under Sety I.; *steles* at Faras = Mashakit (C.N. i. 38, 40, 609); P. Mus. (P.L. pp. 83, 345); in Wady south of Deir el Medineh; from Thebes (S.B.A. xxii. 62); at Antwerp (Rec. xxii. 110); in scene Beit el Wally (C.M. 68, 69; L.D. iii. 176); *statues*, three in C.

Mus. (Rec. xxvii. 71); two in Carlsberg (S.G.C. pp. 95, 98); from Nubia, B. Mus. (A.B. pl. 51); kneeling, Alnwick (Cat. 72, pl. A); from Tell Robb (S.B.A. xv. 523); dedication of statue, Abu Simbel (L.D. iii. 196 b); stele, Antwerp (Rec. xxii. 110); ushabtis (S.B.A. xxii. 63); pectoral, Serapeum (M.S. iii. 12); *uaz* amulet, P. Mus. (P.L. 522); blue glazed cup, P. Mus. (P.L. 90, 368); plaques, T. Mus.; P. Mus. (P.L. 512); Ward Coll. (S.B.A. xxii. 63); model palette with cartouche (Liverpool); beads,



FIG. 38.—Pectoral of Pasar, Serapeum. M.S. 12.

carnelian, P. Mus. (P.R. ii. 85; M.S. iii. 11); glazed (F.P. Coll.); adoring in tomb of Ken, Deir el Medineh (S.B.A. viii. 230).

Pasar, B (same as A?), viceroy of Kush, Naples (B.T. 953).

Pasar, C, scribe (L.D. iii. 184 d).

Pasar, D, housekeeper in Ramesseum, Assassif, tomb.

Pasaru, scribe, yr. 62, B. Mus., stele 163 (Lb. D. 889).

Pashema, chief artist, Gizeh (L.D. iii. 142 i).

Penbuy, sedem em ast, tomb, Deir el Medineh (L.D. iii. 2 b, 173 c); steles, C. Mus.; T. Mus.; wood statuette (all Rec. ii. 176; L.T. 1559, 3048).
Pennestaui, scribe of table, stele, P. Mus. (P.R. ii. 77).
Pennesutaui, chief archer of Kush. Naples (B.T. 953).
Penpaāa, scribe of palace, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).
Pentaur, A, scribe, see under *Karnak*.
Pentaur, B, *zat*, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1138).



FIG. 39.—Penbuy, wooden statue. Turin.

Perynefer, scribe of royal table, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128); stele, Bologna (W.G. supp. p. 56).
Piaay, kherheb Serapeum steles, Apis IV., yr. 30 (M.S. iii. 15, 16; Rec. xxi. 72–3; B.T. 965).
Piaay, over crops of Ramesseum; tomb Drah abul Negga; squatting figure, B. Mus. 46 (Lb. D. 887); same? chief archer of the chariots. Naples (B.T. 955).
Ptahemua, A, over cattle of Ramesseum, statue (P. Ab. lxvii.).

Ptahemua, B, over treasury of Ramesseum at Memphis (M.D. lxii. c).

Ptahemua, C, royal scribe, Thebes. Stele, B. Mus. 167.

Ptahherau, scribe, stele, C. Mus.

Ptahiy, kherheb, stele, Apis IV., yr. 30 (M.S. iii. 15; Rec. xxi. 71).

Ptahma, kazena, B. Mus., stele 166 (Lb. D. 888).

Ptahmay, A, priest of Ptah, statue, Berlin 2297; stele, T. Mus. (L.T. 1572; Lb. D. 811).

Ptahmay, B, over the *aht*, B. Mus.; stele 166 (Lb. D. 888).

Ptahmery, scribe of the table, kneeling figure, B. Mus. (A. B. pl. 54).

Ptahmes, A, Prince, over temple of Ptah, treasurer over works of monuments, general; living eyes and ears of the king. Pillars and slabs of tomb, Leyden (L. Mon. iii. xvii.–xx.; K. 10–13, and xxv. xxvi.; K. 16); stele, F. Mus. (S. Cat. F. 1600); stele, C. Mus. (M.D. 62 d).

Ptahmes, B, divine father of Ptah, figure, Leyden (L. Mon. ii. xi.; D. 45).

Ptahmes, C, scribe, keeper of temple of Ptah, stele, Apis IV., yr. 30 (M.S. iii. 18); carnelian serpent amulet. F.P. Coll.

Ptahneferher, ushabti, yr. 26, Serapeum (M.S. iii. 14).

Qedit, shabti, Serapeum (M.S. iii. 14).

Qen, zat of Amen, tomb (S.B.A. viii. 230); steles, Turin (L.T. 1634–5; Rec. ii. 193–4); Pisa (Rec. i. 136, iii. 103); Copenhagen (Rec. i. 136, ii. 193–4).

RAHOTEP, A, vizier (son of Parahotep), Abydos, stele (M.A. 1138); stele, Memphis, C. Mus. (B.T. 950); stele, B. Mus. 796 (Lb. D. 997); piece of stone palette seen in Cairo 1900; of Ram. II.? before being vizier, on statue, Abydos (Ab. ii. xxxvii.).

Rahotep, B, divine father of Hershefi, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1138).

Rames, A, *kherheb*, stele, Apis IV., yr. 30 (M.S. iii. 15; Rec. xxi. 71).

Rames, B, scribe of *ast maat*, tomb, Deir el Medineh (S.B.A. viii. 229); ? steles, T. Mus. (L.T. 1601–3); wooden statue, T. Mus. (Rec. ii. 185; L.T. 3046); ? same as scribe of treasury, palette, P. Mus. (P.R. i. 90).

Rames-user-pehti, fan-bearer, on Osiris statue, Heliopolis, with Ram. II. and Merenptah (N.Y. 65).

Rameses, vizier, stele of Tanis (Rev. A. xi. pl. iv.).

Rameses-asau-heb, architect of Abu Simbel, stele, rock (C.M. ix. 2).

Rameses-nekhtu, keeper of house in Ramesseum. Brussels, stele (S.B.A. xi. 261).



Fig. 40.—Plaques of Baken·amen and Rameses·user·her·khepesh. F.P. Coll.

Rameses-user-her-khepesh, keeper of great treasury of S. and N. plaque. F.P. Coll.

Ramessu, *kherheb* of Ramesseum, pyramid, Vienna (Rec. ix. 51).

Ranpu, royal scribe, stele, B. Mus. 161.

Ra-user-ma-nekht, scribe remembrancer (F.S. 311).

Riya, *Riaay*, *kherheb*, stele, Apis IV., yr. 30 (M.S. iii. 16; Rec. xxi. 72).

Roma, priest of Min and Isis (B.T. 954).

Roma, priest of Amen, Berlin pap. (A.Z. xvii. 72).

Sehotep-aten-khetef, chief boatman. P. Mus., stele c. 95 (P.R. ii. 1).

Sekhetnefert, stele, Apis IV., yr. 30 (M.S. iii. 18).

Setau, A, viceroy of Kush, wife, Ain, adoring Horus of Nekhen, statue, Mulhausen (Rec. xxii. 113);

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sister, Nefertmut, Sehel (M.I. i. pp. 97, 174; another, M.D. lxxi. 27), and in tomb Feras (S.I. ii. 39); lid of sarcophagus, B. Mus. 78; statue (Rec. xxii. 113); base of statue with titles, El Kab (L.D. iii. 174 c); in temple of Ram. II., Abydos (B.R. i. xii.); block, Abydos (B.T. 1223); chapel of Ram. II., El Kab (L.D.T. iv. 38); *statues*, Gerf Huseyn, Berlin 2283 (L.D. 178 f–i); another, Berlin 2287; ushabtis, T. Mus., B. Mus. 8700 a; *steles*, Aswan (M.I. i. pp. 28, 3, 4); Abu Simbel, yr. 38 (L.D. iii. 195 b, c); Ibrim (L.D. iii. 184 d); Amada (C.M. 45, 4); reel of pottery (P.L. pp. 158, 636); on stele of Pen·nestaui, P. Mus. (P.R. ii. 77).

Setau, B, director of works, plaque, Czartoriski Coll.; same, stele, B. Mus. 556.

Set·hotep, stele of yr. V; Sarabit.

Set·nekht, stele of yr. VI; Sarabit.

SETY, vizier. Stele, Tanis (Rev. A. xi. pl. iv.).

Siast, A, keeper of granary of temple of Merenptah, statue (Rec. xii. 3).

Siast, B, first priest of Osiris; group, Abydos (R.M.A.).

Siroi, royal scribe, statue, Karnak (Rec. xxvii. 71).

Sunuro, chief prophet. Naples (B.T. 955).

Suy, *kazena*, stele, B. Mus. (Lb. D. 888); shabti, Serapeum (M.S. iii. 14).

Tahutmes, vineyard overseer, ostrakon (A.Z. xxi. 34).

Tahutmes, scribe, tomb, Assassif; piece of temple, F. Mus. (S. Cat. F. 1800).

Tahutmes named Rames, stele, Apis IV., yr. 30 (M.S. iii. 15; Rec. xxi. 71; B.T. 965).

Tahutiemheb, steles, Apis IV., yr. 30 (M.S. iii. 17); L. Mus. (L.M.E. p. 272, v. 17).

Takemay, *qemat* of Amen, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).

Thaa, treasurer of Ramesseum, king's tutor, fan-bearer, P. Mus. 7717 (A.Z. xix. 118); F. Mus. (S. Cat. F. 1598).

Thaa, *qemat* of Amen, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).

Thathaa, son of Pasar, over the *ahu*, chief priest (C.N. i. 523).

Thenru, scribe, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).
Thiy, daughter of Pasar, *hesyt* of the palace (C.N. i. 523).
Thiy Nefertari, great *qemat* of Amen, group, Abydos (Ab. i. lxv.); Naples (B.T. 954, No. 9).
Tuaa, *qemat* of Amen, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).
Tuy, *qemat* of Mut, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1128).
Uaay, *qemat* of Amen. Naples (P.T. 955).
Uazmes, *sedem*, steles, T. Mus. (L.T. 1463; Rec. ii. 188; L.T. 1548).
Unnefer, A, high priest of Amen. Naples (Lb. D. 905).
Unnefer, B, high priest of Osiris, granite group with Mery his father, Abydos, C. Mus. (R.M.A. xxxvii.); granite squatting figure, Abydos (P. Ab. lxv.); group, Naples (B.T. 953); diorite statue, P. Mus., A. 67 (R.N.M. p. 36; P.R. i. 3–5); and sister Thiy, granite group, Abydos (P. Ab. lxv.); pieces of statues (P. Ab. p. 46, lxvii.); *steles*, Abydos, C. Mus. (M.A. 1126); P. Mus., A. 66, C. 97 (Lb. D. 895); Abydos (Ab. ii. xxxviii.).
Unnefer, C, priest of Mut, Berlin pap. (A.Z. xvii. 72).
Untaperit, prince of Nubia, Karnak (Rec. xxvii. 71).
Usekht, priest of Anhur and Amen, Abydos, stele (M.A. 1138).
Userhat, keeper of palace of Thiy, Qurneh, tomb.
Usermentu, priest of Amen, Berlin pap. (A.Z. xvii. 72).
Yupa, keeper of house in Ramesseum, overseer of works on monuments; sarcophagus, Brussels; statuette, Meux Coll.; stele, T. Mus. (L.T. 1465).
Yupa, scribe over granaries, squatting figure, C. Mus. (R.E. 31); P. Mus. (P.R. ii. 11).
Yuyu, son of Unnefer; priest of Osiris, statue, P. Mus., A. 67 (P.R. ii. 53); black granite statue, P. Mus. (Lb. D. 2538); on group, Abydos (R.M.A.); naos, Abydos (M.O.).
., chief of workmen of Ramesseum, stele, P. Mus. (P.R. ii. 50).

XIX. 4.

BA·N·RA·MERY·AMEN 

1234–1214 B.C.

HOTEP·HER·MAAT·MEREN·PTAH 

Mummy, from tomb of Amenhotep II., C. Mus. (Rec. xxii. 136; xxiii. 32; Ms. Q.G. 422).

Tomb, No. 8, in valley of Kings' Tombs (L.D.T. iii. 200; M.A.F. iii. 35; L.D. iii. 203 a; C.M. 252, 252 B; N.L.S. xviii.–xxiii.).

Sarabit el Khadem	Door jamb and vases	(W.R.S. 117, 130–4).
Tanis	Two granite statues and many usurpations.	(P.T. ii. vii.).
,,	Blocks	(P.T. ii. vii.).
Nebesheh	Column with hawk over king and blocks of limestone.	(P.N. 31).
Mendes	Blocks	(N.A. 18).
Tell Mokdam	Usurped statue	(M.D.63 c; N.A.28).
Tell el Yehudiyeh	Lotus column and group	(N.Y. 41).
,,	Alabaster vase	(N.Y. 41).
Bubastis	Statue of red limestone	(N.B. 45).
,,	Scenes as prince	(N.B. 43, xxxvi.).
,,	Fragments of statue	(N.B. 45).
Athribis	Granite stele	(A.Z. xxi. 65).
Heliopolis	Building mentioned	(C.M. 121).
Memphis	Granite column	(A.Z. xix. 119).
Serapeum	Sphinx headless. P. Mus.	(W.G. 479).
Herakleopolis	Named in temple	(N.A. 10).
Surarieh	Rock shrine	(L.D. iii. 198).
Eshmuneyn	Pylon, etc.	(Ms. Q.G. 5, 138).
Tell el Amarna	Name in quarry	(P.A. 4).
Meshekh	Repaired temple of Ram. II.	(M.D. p. 27).
Abydos	Osireion	(M.O.).
,,	Three statues, probably usurped	(M.A. 2, 3, 4).
Nubt	Inscription on temple gate	(P.N.B. 70).
Koptos	Block	(P. Kop. 16).
Karnak	Statue	(Rec. xxvii. 71).
,,	Libyan war inscription	(M.K. 52–55; R.P. iv. 39).

Karnak	Fragments of above	(A.S. ii. 269; B. Rs. 190, 194).
,,	Usurpations	(C.N. ii. 130; W.G. 479).
Qurneh	Temple of Sety I.	(C.N. i. 697, 699, 700).
,,	Temple of Merenptah	(P.S.T. p. 11, xxv.).
,,	Great stele of war	(P.S.T. p. 26, xiii., xiv.; A.Z. xxxiv. 1; Rec. xx. 31,32).
,,	Statues	(P.S.T. vi. 12, 13).
Ramesseum	Inscription on pillar	(L.D. iii. 219 c).
Deir el Bahri	Inscription by granite door	(L.D. iii. 199 b).
Medinet Habu	Inscription	(L.D. iii. 199 c).
W. Silsileh, steles on rock	M. offering to Amen, with Roy	(L.D. iii. 200 a).
(inferior editions omitted)	M. offering to Amen, with Nehesi	(L.D. iii. 200 c).
,,	M. offering to Osiris, Isis, Horus	(L.D. iii. 200 e).
,,	M. offering to Osiris, Isis, Ramessu II.	(C.M. 103, 4).
,,	M. offering to Astnefert, Nehesi, Amen, Mut	(C.M. 114).
,,	M. offering to nine gods	(R.S. 119).
,,	M. offering to Amen, Horus, and Isis	(R.R. 34).
,,	M., Astnefert, son Merenptah, offering	(R.R. 35).
,,	Hymn to Nile	(L.D. iii. 200 d).
Elephantine	Statue	(My. E. 521).
Aswan	Stele of Messuy	(M.I. i. 18, No. 87).
Dakkeh	Inscription on temple	(L.L. 124).
Amada	Triumphal inscription	(Rec. xviii. 159).
Wady Halfeh	S. temple adoration by Nehesi	(Rec. xvii. 162, No. 14, W. and S.).

Statues (beside those of known sites)—

Kneeling, holding Osiris	C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 134).
Osiris with Merenptah		(Ms. Q.G. 161).
Bust, two pieces at Alexandria		(W.G. 479; Ms. Q.G. 99).
Bust, head lost	Meuricoffre Coll.	(W.G. 479).
Base	Turin	(L.T. 1382).
Fragment of statue	Copenhagen	(S.M.C. 19).
Usurped statues frequent	Tanis, etc.	
Portraits		(L.D. iii. 298, 62-64; R.S. vii.).

Stele offering captive to Ptah	Florence	(S. Cat. F. 1601).
Sphinx, red granite	P. Mus.	(R.M.L. 23).
Scarabs, many with Tahutmes III. or Ramessu II.		
Papyrus, 4 Khoiak to 29 Athyr in IIIrd year		(S. Pap. 156–7).
Papyrus of Bakenamen	Bologna	(T.S.B.A. vii. 411).
Papyrus of VIIIth year	Bologna	(L.K.R. 13).

Queen—ASTNEFERT, probably 9th daughter of Ramessu II. (C.M. 114, 121).
Son—Sety Merenptah II. (N.B. 45; Ms. Q.G. 165).
Daughter—Arit-nefert, in account papyrus (Rec. xvii. 152).
Worshipped—On stele from Serapeum. P. Mus.

Dated documents—

YEAR				
1	Rameses-heru	Stele	P. Mus.	(P. R. i. 66).
1	Pentaur	Stele	C. Mus.	(M.A. ii. 49).
1	Paophi 5	Silsileh stele		(L.D. iii. 200 d).
2	Thoth 29	Medinet Habu		(L.D. iii. 199 c).
2	Mesore 5	Silsileh stele		(C.M. 114).
3	Hathor . . .	Deir el Bahri inscription		(L.D. iii. 199 b).
3	Pakhons 15 to 25	Frontier diary		(A.Z. xvii. 29).
3	Pauni 10	In papyrus Bakenamen		(T.S.B.A. vii. 415).
5	Pauni	News of Libyan advance		(A.Z. xix. 118).
5	Epiphi 3	Libyan battle, Israel stele		(P.S.T. 26).
5	Epiphi 3	Stele	Cairo	(A.Z. xxi. 65).
5		Temple Nubt		(P.N.B. 70).
8	Hathor 29	Papyrus Bologna		(T.S.B.A. vii. 423).

OFFICIALS—

Amenemheb, scribe of table, statue, limestone, Liverpool (G.L. 52).
Anhurmes, high priest of Anhur, tomb, Mesheykh (M.D. 78).
Banazana of Zarbasana on stele (M.A. ii. 50).
Hora over scribe of royal table, statue, P. Mus. (P.R. 9).
Kha-em-tir, tomb, Qurneh (L.D. iii. 199 g).
Khera-uti, limestone statue, Bologna (W.G. 480).
MES, Prince of Kush. Aswan, stele (L.D. iii. 200 f).
MESSUY, Prince of Kush. Aswan, stele (M.I. i. 18, No. 87; P.S. 70).
NEHESI, vizier, etc., 4 steles at Silsileh (L.D. iii. 200 c; C.M. 103, 114, 121); on temple Wady Halfeh (Rec. xvii. 162, 163, pillar 14).

Pentaur, washer of king's hands, stele, Abydos (M.A. ii. 49).
Rameses, priest, stele, B. Mus.
Rameses-em-per-Ra, called *Meranu*, chief washer of king's hands, stele, C. Mus. (M.A. ii. 50).
Rameses-heru, washer of king's hands, stele, P. Mus. (P.R. i. 66).
Roy, high priest of Amen, stele, Silsileh (L.D. iii. 200 a).
Roy, high priest of Amen, statue, Karnak (B. Mus.); another, C. Mus. (Rec. xxvii. 71).
Sa-ast, scribe of granary, palace keeper, statue, Vienna (Rec. xii. 2).
Sekhet-nefert, chief *kemat* of Anhur (M.D. 78).
Yupa āa, father of Rameses-em-per-Ra (M.A. ii. 50).
Yuy, scribe, stele, Sehel (M.I. i. 91, No. 92).

Merenptah was the thirteenth son of Ramessu II., born probably about his 26th year, or 8th of his reign; he succeeded to the heirship probably on the death of Khaemuas in the 55th year of his father's reign, when he was about 47; but he did not reach the throne till the 58th year of his age, and he was never co-regent, as there are dates of his first year. The length of his reign was over 8 years by the monuments; and as Manetho, according to Josephus, gives 19 years 6 months, and 20 years by the whole number of Africanus, we ought to accept this amount. His earlier monuments, as prince, are already mentioned in his father's reign.

The earlier years seem to have been tranquil, only a few religious and private steles being found of these dates: those at Silsileh do not seem to refer to the Nile levels, as Paophi 5 was August 2, and Mesore 5 was May 30. Of the third year there is a fragment of a report of an official on the Syrian frontier, showing how in ten days there were eight important people passing the frontier and seven official despatches, implying much intercourse across the long and forbidding desert journey (B.H. ii. 126).

The later years of Ramessu had been a time of gradual decay; and the ever-pressing western tribes had been quietly settling on the edges of the Nile valley, on the cultivated land, and even down to the side of the Nile (see M.K. 52; B.H. ii. 116; R.P. iv. 39, line 19), and remaining there for months together, having already occupied the oasis of Bahrieh, and ravaged the oasis of Farafreh (l. 20). Merenptah had been organising (l. 11) for an approaching struggle; and in his Vth year a general advance of the Libyans and their allies was made in full force. The Libyan king, Mārmeryui, had gathered them together in the month of Pachons (March) (l. 13); and early in Pauni, or the beginning of April (A.Z. xix. 118), news came that the invasion had begun. Merenptah appointed the 14th of Pauni (April 8) for the gathering of the Egyptian troops under him (l. 28). The invasion was evidently timed to seize the harvest, as the wheat is reaped in the latter part of April; beginning 2nd April in the south, and 2nd May in the Delta, and ending 12th May (Coptic calendar). The Egyptians awaited the invasion at Pa-ari-sheps, which Brugsch well identifies with the nome of Prosopis, the capital of which was Nikiou (Ptol. Geog.), probably at Ed Dahariyeh (P. Nk. 93), near Kafr ez Zayat. The invaders were apparently therefore advancing along the coast and the western edge of the Delta. On Epiphi 1 (April 25) the invaders came in touch with the



FIG. 41. — Merenptah, grey granite figure from his temple. Thebes.

Egyptians (l. 31) at dawn; for two days the straggling mass of auxiliaries was being concentrated, and Merenptah must have deliberately let them join, in order to be able to give a crushing blow once for all. On Epiphi 3 (l. 31), when the Libyan king had joined the host, the Egyptians gave battle. The tactics are revealed by the statement that the archers slew the enemy for six hours; after which, the attack was with the sword. There are no bows stated among the Libyan spoils, and they seem to have relied entirely on hand to hand fighting and chariots; hence they were much in the position of the Franks in the great battle of Casilinum, where Narses exterminated them (Oman, *Art of War*, ii. 36). That parallel victory was entirely due to flanking the enemy with archers at a distance, who—refusing close quarters—kept up such incessant slaughter and galling with arrows, that the whole mass of the enemy gradually fell into confusion, lost heart, and at last broke and fled. Such are the true tactics of a small civilised army against a large unorganised host; and we continue the same ourselves in repelling rushes of an enemy by fire, and never letting him get to close quarters. This battle shows Merenptah to have been a true general, who could adapt his methods, and organise a victory. His choice of the region of Kafr ez Zayat for the battle was evidently because the enemy was bound to cross the Nile there, in order to get sustenance for their march, as south of that the desert leaves no cultivation west of the Nile. The actual fighting ground would probably be between El Dahariyeh and En Negileh.

On the breaking of the Libyan host the king fled, leaving his weapons, his treasures of silver and gold and bronze, his wife's jewellery, his thrones, and camp equipage (l. 36); and then the Egyptians loosed their chariots to chase the foe and complete the rout (l. 38). The western frontier garrisons sent back news of the final flight of the king from Egypt; and the victors kept a ghastly tally of the dead by

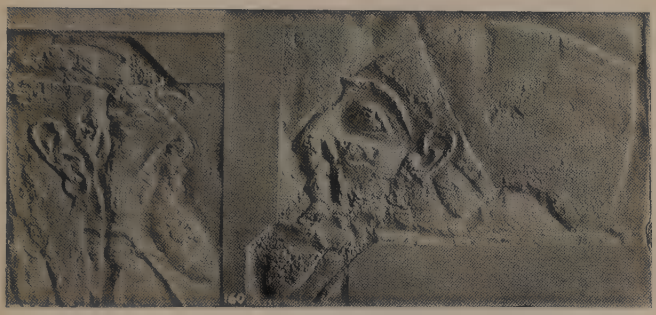
mutilating them. The whole record of the victory shows as—

Slain—King's children and brothers	6	
Lebu	6,359	
Shakalsha	242	
Tursha	750	
Shairdana	*x*	1,124
Aqayuasha	*x*	
Total otherwise given as	8,481	
Captive—(Names lost)	9,146	
Lebu	218	
Harem of the chief	12	
Total stated as	9,376	
Booty—Bronze swords of Mashauasha	9,111	
(Weapons?)	120,214	
Horses of the Lebu	113	
Cattle	1,308	
Goats	*x*	
(Metal vases?)	54	
Silver drinking bowls, vases, swords 104, breastplates, bronze razors, bronze vases, total	3,174	

The 9111 swords appear to be the arms of those who were taken alive, the 120,214 weapons to be the general spoil of the battlefield, and the 3174 articles and the cattle to be the camp plunder. The Egyptians then burnt the skin tents, and all the rest of the *qairmata*, perhaps hangings and bedding (*qaram*, Heb. to spread or cover). The civilisation of the Libyans is shown to have been far from barbaric; they had plenty of bronze weapons, and even vessels of silver and bronze were taken with them on this campaign.

The question now is, what peoples formed this alliance against Egypt? The names here are Aqayuasha, Turisha, Leku or Luku, Shardena, and Shakalsha, allied to the Lebu and termed in general Mashauasha. It is only complicating the question to lump these names with those of the tribes who fought in Syria against Ramessu II. and III. Only the Luku also occur in both those lists, and the Shaklusha against

Ramessu III. The Luku we know to be the Lykian pirates; but the earlier and later lists throw no light on the Aqayuasha, Turisha, or Shardena: and it is only a confusion to mix together the tribes which fought on the east and those on the west. Mr. Hall



MASHAUASHA. SHAKALSHA.



SHARDENA.

FIG. 42.—Mashuash, Shakalsha, and Shardena, from Medinet Habu.

has well pointed out that the -sha termination is an ethnic affix which appears in the Lykian -azzi and Greek -assos. Hence the actual names which we should look for are Aqayua, Turi, Shaklu, Shardena, and Mashua as a general name. The Mashua are generally agreed to be the Maxyes of Herodotos, who

in his time were beyond the Syrtis Minor, towards Carthage, close to which was the city of Maxula. And it is in this connection that we should therefore expect *à priori* to find the other names; for if this region were not the home of the tribes in this period, yet if one of them shifted to this part in later times, the others are likely to have moved together in the tribal migration. Unfortunately, in past discussions of this subject, owing to mixing together the lists of different wars, it has



FIG. 43.—Map of tribes in Algeria and Tunis.

been usual to look to the north, and see in the Akhaians, the Tyrseni or Tarsus, and Sagalassians (inland), the allies of the Libyans in this North African invasion. This is, however, very improbable, as we cannot presume on an alliance of peoples from opposite shores of the Mediterranean unless some very clear proof can be given. We should the rather seek first whether such names are found in connection with the Maxyes; and when we look near the Maxyan region

we might see the Turi or Turisha in Turuza behind Carthage (long. 10°), though the connection under Ramessu III. makes a more northern position probable; the Aqayua in Agbia behind Carthage (long. 9°) connected with Agabis (long. 22°), and El Aghwat (long. 3°); the Shaklu in the Sikeli, within 100 miles of Africa, and perhaps a branch between Cyrenaica and Egypt at Zagylis and Zygris (B.H. ii. 124); while the Shardena were well known in the bodyguard of Ramessu II., and we cannot disconnect them from—at least a later residence in—Sardinia, which is only 120 miles from the Tunisian coast. We see that, the generic term Mashua implying Tunisia, we find two of the names in Tunisia, and two within a day's sail of the coast. And this is more likely than a confederacy of several Asia Minor peoples in a land attack in Africa. Certainly the Mashua, the Shardena, and the Shakal are identical in features on the sculptures of Ramessu III. (Fig. 42).

The head of the confederacy was the chief of the Libyans, or Lebu, who is called Māur mey (or Mauroy), variously written as Mārmeyui, and Māuriay, son of Did. His flight is a main subject of the historical report, and of the Song of Triumph, which is dated on the day of the battle; one copy of it was found complete in the funeral temple of Merenptah (P.S.T. 26), and portions of another copy are at Karnak (D.H. 1 c). In the 6th line we read, "The wretched conquered prince of Libya fled, under the protection of the night, alone, without the plume on his head; his feet failed, his women were taken away before his face, the provisions of his store were plundered. He had no water skin for his sustenance, his brothers plotted his murder, his officers fought with one another; their camp was burned to ashes, his whole property became a booty of the soldiers. Arriving in his country he lamented, every one in his country was ashamed to receive him, 'Punished prince, evil fate, feather,' called him all the inhabitants of his city."

This deliverance of Egypt was celebrated with great joy, as the Libyans had been making the country

unsafe for some time before this; in line 22, "They say, 'Come far out upon the roads'; there is no fear in the heart of men; the castles are abandoned, the walls are opened, the messengers return home; the battlements lie calm in the sun, until their guards awake the soldiers lie asleep; the cattle are let out on the pasture again, no one fears to go on the Nile; by night resounds not the cry 'Stop' or 'Come, come,' in the mouth of the people: One goes with singing, there is no more the lament of sighing man; the villages are settled anew, he who has tilled his crop will eat it."

The same Song of Triumph gives also some most valuable details at the end of it (l. 26). "Devastated is Tehenu (Libya); Kheta (Hittite-land) is quieted; the Kanaan is seized with every evil, led away is Askelon, taken is Gezer, Ynuāmam is brought to nought, the people of Israel is laid waste—their crops are not, Kharu (Palestine) has become as a widow by Egypt." This shows that some reassertion of Egyptian rule had been made in Syria, holding the south, and commanding the respect of the north. The name of the people of Israel here is very surprising in every way: it is the only instance of the name Israel on any monument, and it is four centuries before any mention of the race in cuneiform: it is clearly outside of our literary information, which has led to the belief that there were no Israelites in Palestine between the going into Egypt and the entry at Jericho; whereas here are Israelites mentioned with Ynuamu in North Palestine, at a time which must be while the historic Israel was outside of Palestine. The only likely conclusion is that there were others of the tribe left behind, or immediately returning, at the time of the famine; and that these kept up the family traditions about sites which were known in later times.

But the question of the Exodus is made more difficult by the obvious quietude of the frontier shown by the frontier diary, already mentioned, of year 3, and by a report of another frontier official in year 8. In that he

describes bringing in a tribe of Shasu (Bedawin) from Aduma (Etham, E. of Suez Canal), through the fortress of Thuku (Succoth) to the lakes of Pa-tum (Pithom) in the land of Succoth, to feed themselves and their herds. As, however, the actual records of the Book of Judges, when discriminated into regions (S.B.A. xviii. 246), give only about 120 years for that period, we reach back from Saul, 1053–1040 B.C., 120 years, to 1173 for the entry into Palestine; this keeps clear of the last campaign of Ramessu III. in 1187 B.C., and would bring the Exodus to 1213 B.C., which would thus fall at the end of the reign of Merenptah. All these dates are somewhat amended from those given in S.B.A. xviii. 243, in accord with the true dating by the royal horoscopes, which we have here followed. It would seem, then, that the Egyptians were welcoming more Semitic tribes into Succoth only a few years before the Exodus.

Some objection may be raised to accepting the periods stated in the early Israelite history; but if their residence in Egypt is granted, we must suppose that they had an educated class which could keep the necessary accounts and records which were an incessant feature of Egyptian life. The known character of the Egyptian and Syrian civilisation of the time must cause a great difficulty to those who would deny all use of writing to the Israelites. The details of the course followed by the Israelites at the Exodus have been much disputed, owing to the insufficiency of data; but the result of Naville's discussion of it is reasonable and generally accepted (N.P. 27).

Few of the monuments of Merenptah are of importance; the poverty of the land prevented great works being undertaken, and most of the cartouches of the king are usurpations on the earlier monuments; and usually very rough and brutal usurpations, coarsely hammered upon the exquisitely polished surfaces of a more skilful and refined age. His mummy was found placed in the coffin of Set-nekht, which lay in the tomb

of Amenhotep II. At first supposed to be of Akhenaten, it was later found to be that of Merenptah, when the rough scrawl of a scribe upon it was fully discussed (Rec. xxii. 136, xxiii. 32). Unhappily no full and official account of this great group of royal mummies has been issued in the five years since they were found. His tomb at Thebes has only a corridor and three chambers. In it are the usual class of mythologic texts in fair condition, and a fine figure of the king before Harakhti (C.M. 252, and cast in B. Mus., A.B. 41), but nothing of historic value.

Very little original work was done. At Sarabit el Khadem a door jamb remains. At Tanis two statues were added to the temple. At Nebesheh stood a unique monument, a column of red granite without any capital, but on the plain cylindrical top a hawk overshadowing a kneeling figure of the king. This can only be compared with the standards on poles held at the sides of statues; it seems to have been such a pole on a gigantic scale, set up in the temple. The other Delta towns contain only fragments, beside the important stele from Athribis which gives portions of an account of the Libyan war. In Upper Egypt there is only one important work below Thebes, the great subterranean hall and chambers behind the temple of Sety at Abydos, which seems to be the Osireion or crypt of Osiris, and identical with the great passages which excited Strabo's wonder. This has not been completely cleared, but it was a fine structure of sandstone, entirely sculptured by Merenptah.

At Karnak is the long inscription of the Libyan war, which we have summarised, inscribed on the west face of the eastern wall linking the pylon of Tahutmes III. (No. viii. Baed.) to the great temple. On the opposite bank stood the funeral temple of the king (P.S.T. p. 11, xxv.), which had been placed close to that of Amenhotep III., apparently for the convenience of destroying the splendid work of his predecessor. Steles, sphinxes, and statues were smashed up and built into the foundations; and a magnificent stele of black granite, over

10 feet high and 5 feet wide, was taken and reversed, to bear the Triumphal Song of Merenptah on the rough back of it (P.S.T. xiii. xiv.). Even the very bricks of Amenhotep were carried off and re-used. The plan of the temple was copied from that of his father at the Ramesseum ; but is little more than half the size (P.S.T. xxii. xxv.). Beside the great stele, portions of two grey granite statues were found, one of which



FIG. 44.—Merenptah in the Osireion. Abydos.

preserves the best portrait of the king (Fig. 41). An unusual feature of the temple is a large tank outside on the south, to which a door of the temple led out.

The main work beyond Thebes was on rock steles at Silsileh, which show the queen. And, beyond that, the only historic detail is on the inscription at Amada, which gives the speech of the king to the Wawa or negroes, and points to an Ethiopian expedition after the Libyan war, which is also mentioned.

The only statues of importance are those of Tanis and the funeral temple already named. There are no small objects except scarabs, which are poor in work, and usually have the name of Tahutmes III. added.

The queen is named Astnefert on the steles at Silsileh; and as Astnefert was the 9th daughter of Ramessu II., she might well be the wife of his 13th son. Her title as *nebt taui* shows that she was the heiress of royal descent. Only one son is shown, Sety Merenptah, who succeeded, and is known as Sety II. One daughter, Arit-nefert, is mentioned in a papyrus of accounts.

XIX. 5. USER·KHEPRU·RA·



SETY MEREN·PTAH
(SETY II.)

1214–1209 B.C.

Mummy and coffin, tomb of Amenhotep II. C. Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 441).
Tomb, No. 15, in valley of Kings' Tombs (M.A.F. iii. 146; L.D. iii. 203 b, c, 204 a, b, c; L.D.T. ii. 214; C.M. 252 *bis*; N.L.S. xxiv.–xxxiii.; D.E. ii. 79, 15, 16; 81, 6).

Palestine	Fortification	(Pap. Anast. v.; W.G. 481).
Sarabit	Usurpation of pylon	(W.R.S. 86).
,,	Vases	(W.R.S. 135–6).
Tanis	Block	(P.T. ii. vii.).
Nebesheh	Usurped sphinx	(P.N. 11).
Bubastis	As prince on statue	(N.B. 45).
Tell el Yehudiyeh	Kneeling figure, limestone	(N.Y. 41).
Heliopolis	Block of red granite	(A.Z. xix. 116).
Surarieh	In rock shrine of Merenptah	(L.D. iii. 198 c).
Eshmuneyn	Temple, large pylon	(S.B.A. xxiv. 86; A.R. 1901, 18).
Isbayda	Quarry, scribe Saamen	(P.S. 691).
Karnak	Granite stele between sphinxes	(Rec. xiv. 30, 31).
,,	Two small obelisks before pylon I.	(M.K. p. 17).
,,	Small temple in forecourt	(B.E. plan; M.K. p. 18; C.N. ii. 2).

Karnak	Jamb of door of pylon IV., inscribed	(C.N. ii. 131).
,,	Name on gallery of Tahutmes	(C.N. ii. 159).
,,	Name on pylon VI.	(M.K. p. 30).
,,	Court E of pylon VI., repairs	(C.N. ii. 139).
,,	Hall G (of Mariette), repairs	(M.K. p. 18, pl. i.).
,,	Court S. of granite shrine	(B.E. plan; M.K. 31).
,,	W. wall between pylons III. and VIII.	(C.N. ii. 194; L.D.T. ii. 43).
,,	On pylon IX., hymn to Amen Ra	(L.D. iii. 237 c; A.Z. xi. 74).
,,	Sphinx by pylon XI. appropriated	(C.N. ii. 174).
,,	Frieze by temple of Khonsu	(W.G. 482).
,,	Temple of Mut, gate	(C.N. ii. 263).
Luqsor	Name on colonnade of Amenhotep III.	(W.G. 482).
Ramesseum	Tiles	(Q.R. 9).
Medinet Habu	behind; rock stele usurped by Setnekht	(L.D. iii. 204 d).
Silsileh	Stele of offering, defaced, in Horemheb shrine	(C.M. 122; L.D.T. iv. 85).
,,	Inscrip. of quarry master, Yaa	(R.E. 267).
Sehel	Rock stele, officials	(M.I. i. 95, 146).
Abu Simbel	Stele by Mery	(L.D. iii. 204 e).
,,	Name on second colossus	(L.D. iii. 204 f).
Hamamat	Name on rock	(G.H. ii.).

Portraits		(L.D. iii. 298, 65–6; R.S. vii. 26; D.E. ii. 81, 6).
Statues, with queen	Cairo Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 149).
,, sandstone, seated	B. Mus.	(A.B. 43).
,, with standard	P. Mus.	(R.M.L., A. 24, p. 23).
,,	Turin	(L.T. 1383).
,, bust	Florence	(Phot.).
,, head	P. Mus., S.H. 684	(D.E. ii. 81, 6; P.L. 684, p. 169).
Papyrus d'Orbiney, belonged to Prince Sety		(S.B.A. xi. 171).
,, Anastasi IV., dated 1st year		(W.G. 481).
,, ,, VI., of this reign		(W.G. 483).
Name on back statue Ramessu II.	Cairo	(Rec. xx. 99).
On pillar of Tahutmes IV.	Vienna	(Rec. vii. 178).
Wooden tablet, S. adoring Amen and Ptah,	B. Mus.	38.
Steatite tray, Gurob	A. Mus.	(P.I. xix. 23).
Base of a statue, usurped by Amenmeses		(Liverpool Mus.).

Incised plaques, Turin, Leyden, G. 571 (L. Mon. ii. xliii.).
Glazed inlaid tile cartouches, common.
Scarabs, common.

Dated documents.

Year 1	Mesore 15.	Pap. Anastasi IV.	(W.G. 481).
,, 2	Pharmuthi.	Shrine Silsileh	(L.D.T. iv. 85).
,, 3	Wine jar.	Temple of Siptah	(P.S.T. xix.).
,, 4	,,	,,	(,,).

Queen—TA·KHAT, on statue. Cairo Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 149).

Sons—Amenmeses, Siptah, Setnekht } See following reigns.
Daughter—Tausert }

On reaching the period between Merenptah and Ramessu III. we find the names of Sety II., Amenmeses, Tausert, Siptah, and Setnekht, of whom very little is known, and who have not hitherto been placed in certain order or relationship. Brugsch entirely ignores three of them. Before entering on these reigns, we shall therefore state the known facts and our conclusions about them.

Sety II. was the heir of Merenptah (N.B. 45). Amenmeses came before Siptah, see the re-used stele (L.D. iii. 201 c). Tausert was before Siptah by her scarab in his deposit (P.S.T. 15); and also with him, by their joint tomb. Siptah was after Sety II., by Sety's wine jars in Siptah's deposit (P.S.T. xix.). And Setnekht was after Siptah, by usurping his tomb. These facts leave no uncertainty about the order of reigns.

The relationships are indicated as follows: Sety II. has on his statue in Cairo a queen entitled "royal daughter, great royal wife, united to her Horus, Ta·khat." This is not his mother, or she would be called royal mother rather than royal daughter; nor is she his daughter, or she could not yet be great royal wife; she is therefore his queen.

It is probable that Sety II. was born about 1270 B.C., and married about or after 1250 B.C. About the 53rd year of Ramessu II. an ostrakon (No. 666, dated by officials, being the same in ostrakon 2261 P. Mus.),

gives a list of daughters of Ramessu, the last but one of which is Ta·khat. Thus in 1247 B.C. she was young, but hardly a child, as her father was 71 years old at that time; so it would be quite fitting that she might at that time marry Sety II., her nephew, but older than herself. Such was probably her origin. Beside being the wife of Sety II. we find that she was the mother of Amenmeses, in whose tomb appears "the divine mother, the great royal mother Ta·khat."

Amenmeses was therefore a son of Sety II., as his mother was Sety's queen. He put up a stele at the temple of Sety I. at Qurneh (L.D. iii. 201 c, apparently confounded with Karnak in W.G. 484), which is certainly his by the *ka* names, which are the same as Lepsius copied from some different monument of Amenmeses (L.K. 478 *a* to *e*), and the traces of his second cartouche still show there. In that he states that he was brought up at Kheb, now El Heybeh.



FIG. 45.—Sety II., from his statue. L.D. iii. 298.

Siptah took as his *ka* name *Kha em kheb*, "rising in Kheb," which, as Eisenlohr pointed out, indicates that he was a brother of Amenmeses, who was brought up there, and so a son of Sety II.

Tausert reigned shortly before Siptah, as her temple is independent of his, though his deposit contained one of her scarabs. She appears with him in their joint tomb, and on a joint scarab (F.S. 315). But that tomb was begun earlier, during the reign of Sety II., traces of whose names underlie the names of Setnekht (C.N.

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i. 451) and of Siptah (L.D. iii. 201 a, b; L.D.T. ii. 213; in A.Z. xxiii. 122 the references are wrong). For her to thus appear with Sety II., acting for her in her tomb, shows that she must have been his daughter; his wife she could not be by her complete equality with his son Siptah. Her titles were "the heiress, the great royal wife, lady of both lands, princess of the south and north," *i.e.* full titles of the heiress of the throne, which would be quite possible through such a line as Bantanta (?), Takhat, Tausert.

Setnekht appears among ancestors of Ramessu III. as his father, and as the son of Sety II., son of Merenptah (L.D. iii. 212 a, 213 a).

The history therefore to which we are led is as follows, with probable dates and ages to show how far it will agree to chronological requirements:—

1318 Ramessu II. born
1292 at 26 Merenptah born.
1271 at 21 marries Astnefert.
1270 at 22 Sety II. born.
1262 at 56 Takhat born
1247 at 15 marries at 23
1246 Amenmeses born — Tausert, Siptah, Setnekht } mother unknown.
1214 Sety II. succeeds — Setnekht = Thyimerenast
1212 Tausert carving her tomb
1210 Amenmeses seizes the throne and excludes Tausert, who had begun her temple — Ramessu III. b. 1222 — Ramessu IV. b. 1200 — Ramessu VI. b. 1198 fixed date.
1209 Amenmeses dies at 37, and Siptah marries Tausert, and erases Amenmeses' tomb.
1203 In Siptah's 6th yr. and Tausert's 8th yr. Setnekht succeeds, and takes their tomb.
1202 Ramessu III. succeeds at 21 yrs. old.

The fixed interval from the birth of Ramessu II. to that of R. VI., 1318–1198 B.C. by the horoscopes, thus gives 22 years for the eldest son generations, with four years over where a later son succeeded, so that the general agreement between the dates and the

family history is very good. The basis of the bitter family feuds seems to have been the position of Tausert as heiress ; Amenmeses ousted her, she erased his tomb, and then Setnekht in revenge erased the monuments of her and Siptah. It was almost the tale of Tahutmes II. and III. and Hatshepsut.

We now proceed to the details of these reigns.

SETY II. came to the throne at about 56 years of age; in about the 53rd year of Ramessu II. his wife was yet



FIG. 46.—Sety II., from his tomb.

a princess, she being then about 15 and he about 23, and they probably married very soon after that. His attention seems to have been mainly given to decorating Karnak, and not a single important event can be put down to his reign. A report about some fugitive slaves being pursued over the eastern frontier is the only fragment of interest (B.H. ii. 132). That the copy of the tale of Anpu and Bata has belonged to Sety when crown prince, shows that he had some literary taste.

His tomb is fairly executed, but only consists of a passage with two chambers and a recess. The alteration of the cartouches at the doorway (M.A.F. iii. 147) seems only to have been to rearrange the signs, as the earlier ones all agree to the name of Sety. Beyond two or three statues, and a few lines of misappropriation, there is nothing to show for the reign in lower or middle Egypt. Some small works at Thebes, and rock steles at Medinet Habu, Silsileh, Sehel, and Abu Simbel, make up all that is known of the reign. The best portrait is that in his tomb, which agrees closely with L.D. iii. 298, 65, from a statue (B. Mus. ?); No. 66 is not like him, perhaps reappropriated. There are many large and well made cartouche plaques of white glaze inlaid with violet and yellow; some were at the Ramesseum, and they are attributed both to Karnak and Tell el Yehudiyeh, probably on hearsay. The wine jars, which held "wine of the garden of the house of Sety Merenptah," were probably old empties when put into the deposits of Tausert and Siptah (P.S.T. 29).



FIG. 47.—Plaque. Turin.



FIG. 48.—Takhat, from tomb of Amenmeses. L.D. iii. 202.

Takhat, the queen of Sety II., shown on his statue at Cairo, was probably a daughter of Ramessu II., being one of the youngest, named late in his reign. She was the mother of Amenmeses, as she appears in his tomb as royal mother. Who was the mother of Tausert, Siptah, and Setnekht is unknown; the close fit of the family genealogy almost prohibits all these being children of Takhat. Tausert seems to

have had full rights herself, and to have been therefore descended of the queenly line. It was probably the assertion of these rights, like Hatshepsut and Cleopatra, which made such confusion among the brothers. We shall deal with these in the following reigns.

Of the officials of this reign there are—

Amen·mes, vizier (Pap. Salt 2, l. 17; M.K. 46, l. 12; S.B.A. xv. 524).

Iairi, high priest of Memphis, statuette, P. Mus. (P.R. i. 10).

Kama, of the factory of the king, Graffito, Wady Halfa (Rec. xvii. 162).

Mery, rock stele, Abu Simbel (L.D. iii. 204 e).

Pa·ra·em·heb, vizier, Hamamat (G.H. ii.; Pap. Salt 1, l. 3).

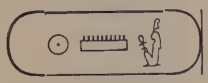
Roi, high priest of Amen (L.D. iii. 237 c).

Roma, high priest of Amen (L.D. iii. 237 c).

Siamen, scribe, quarry, Isbayda (P.S. 691).

Yaa, over quarrying, stele, Silsileh (R.E. 267).

XIX. 6. Men·ma·ra· Sotep·en·ra 

Later— Men·Maat·ra  1209–1208 B.C.

Amen·meses Heq·uast 

Sarcophagus, fragment (M.A.F. iii. 155).
Tomb No. 10, valley of Kings' Tombs (M.A.F. iii. 81; L.D. iii. 202 e, f, g).

Abydos	Stele of procession	(M.A. ii. 52).
Karnak	Stele reported, probably same as next.	(W.G. 484).
Qurneh	Stele appropriated by Siptah	(L.D. iii. 201 c).
,,	Name over Merenptah's	(L.D. iii. 219 c).
,	Block behind Ramesseum, usurped	(Rec. x. 143).
Medinet Habu	Name on front wall	(L.D. iii. 202 d).
Wady Halfa	Name (?) on southern temple	(Rec. xvii. 162).

Pedestal of a statue, appropriated. Liverpool Mus. (G.L. 52).
Fragment of a relief. Liverpool Mus. (G.L. 52).
Scarabs, Palin No. 2; F.P. Coll. (P. Sc. 1620).
Part of a blue seal (Chester) (W.G. 484).
Portrait (R.S. ix. 35).
Queen BAKT·URNURO. In his tomb. (M.A.F. iii. pl. 56 L.D. iii. 202 g).

Amenmeses was probably about 36 years old at his father's death, when he obtained the throne. It appears that he excluded Tausert, who had been associated with her father, and who seems to have regarded herself as the heiress of the kingdom. As there are no dated records, and no traces of a temple or of building for him, the reign was probably only a year or so. The stele stated to be at Qurneh (or Karnak?) must have been his work (L.D. iii. 201 c), as the two *Ka* names agree with those reported from some other monument in L.K. 478 *a* to *e*: yet the Ra name differs from that of Amenmeses, and we must suppose that by a bad play on words he altered Men·ma·ra, "established like the sun," to a copy of the name of his ancestor Sety I., Men·maat·ra, "Ra establishes truth." On that stele he states that he was brought up at Kheb (Buto or perhaps El Heybeh); see Eisenlohr (T.S.B.A. i. 376). The stele cannot have been originally of Sety I., as Ramessu II. appears worshipped as an ancestor. At Liverpool is a fragment of a relief on which Amen presents to him *sed heb* festivals, suggesting that a *sed heb* period fell in his reign. Now, probably, Menophres of the Sothis feast is Ramessu I., whose reign is four to six years too early for the 1322 cycle, and here Amenmessu is six years too early



FIG. 49.—Amenmeses, from his tomb. L.D. iii. 202.

for the 1202 cycle; these suggest that Sirius was officially observed in a rather different part of Egypt to which it was in Roman times, and so its heliacal risings fell a few years earlier.

The stele from Abydos, with a priestly procession accompanied by dancers, has only the cartouche Amen·ra·meses, and must be of this reign (M.A. ii. 52). The stele at Qurneh is the only large work, beside his tomb, that seems original. At Qurneh, near the Ramesseum, and Medinet Habu, are usurpations; and perhaps the name reported at Wady Halfa is that of Ramessu II. The base of a statue at Liverpool was originally inscribed for Sety II. across the front.



FIG. 50. — Scarab of Amenmeses. F.P. Coll.

Of the queen Bakturnuro we have no trace except in the tomb of Amenmeses.

XIX. 7. SIT·RA, MERY·AMEN

TA·USERT, SOTEP·EN·MUT

1212–1203 B.C.



FIG. 51. — Sandstone tablet of Tausert, from her temple, Thebes. F.P. Coll.

Tomb No. 14, valley of Kings' Tombs (M.A.F. iii. 123; L.D. iii. 201 a; L.D.T. ii. 212; C.N. i. 448, 806).

Qurneh Temple, foundation deposits. Stone slabs, glazed plaques and scarabs, ebony cramp		(P.S.T. xvi. xvii. xix.).
Plaque for necklace	B. Mus. 7540.	(W.G. 486).
Ostrakon of 8th year	G. Mus.	(Dy. O. 25293).
Scarabs of stone, rare; of pottery, common.		
Portrait from tomb		(L.D. iii. 299, 67).

Of the reign of this queen we know very little. She was associated with her father as heiress, as he was figured (C.N. i. 451 ; D.L. iii. 201 a, b) in her tomb, in which she has royal titles of lady of both lands, etc. ; a similar position to that of Hatshepsut associated by her father, Tahutmes I. She began a temple for herself at Thebes, which would have been nearly of the same area as that of Merenptah. Nine foundation deposits were placed in the sand which filled the trenches ; these deposits contained each a stone slab with cartouches, pottery, glazed scarabs (246), glazed plaques (239), glazed figures of ducks, bulls' heads, bullocks, haunches, fish, lotus flowers, etc. (1214), rings (43), copper tool models (71), etc. (see P.S.T. xvi. xvii.). But hardly a trace of stone work remained ; and had there been much construction there would have been heaps of chips left from its being reworked on removal. Probably not much was actually built. This temple was certainly begun a little time before that of Siptah, as the style of all the objects is different from his ; yet one scarab of this lot was found with Siptah's, showing that no long time elapsed between the two foundings. Tausert then, beside being associated with Sety II., must have begun her temple in his reign. Her only date is of her 8th year, and as Siptah's highest date is in his 6th year, it seems likely that she dates from before his reign. On the other hand, it may be that a document being dated by her reign implies that



FIG. 52.—Tausert, from her tomb. L.D. iii. 299.

she shortly survived him. In any case she probably reckoned her reign as ignoring Amenmeses; and from the thorough erasure of his name it is evident that there was a bitter feud against him. Her cartouche of Ta·usert was ingeniously arranged to simulate that of her great grandfather User·maat·ra, Ramessu II. Her other cartouche occurs in four forms: (1) in her tomb (misread by Lepsius, L.D.T. ii. 213); (2) on the stone slab (P.S.T. xvii. 2), the fish and cramp (P.S.T. xvi. 15, 37); (3) on the plaques and scarabs (P.S.T. xvi. 1, 2); (4) on the plaques (P.S.T. xvi. 4, 5). But all agree in reading *Sit·ra, mery·amen.*



FIG 53. — Plaques of Tausert, from her temple, Thebes. F.P. Coll.

This queen appears as Thuoris in Manetho, reigning seven years, which agrees with her ostrakon dated in her 8th year, probably after Siptah's death, and just before her own disappearance. It is stated that the fall of Troy was in her time, a valuable evidence of the original state of Manetho's chronology. Unger has shown that Africanus reckoned the fall of Troy at 1198 B.C. (Unger, *Manetho*, p. 225); and that is within five years of this reign, according to quite independent Egyptian authorities. I have preferred to work the chronology entirely from Egyptian data, as all later stated synchronisms depend on accuracy of subsequent historians; but such a general proof of the state of history, as originally written, is a most valuable confirmation of our present arrangement.

XIX. 8.
AKH·EN·RA, SOTEP·EN·RA
MER·EN·PTAH, SIPTAH

1208–1203 B.C.



FIG. 54.—Sandstone tablet of Siptah, from his temple, Thebes. F.P. Coll.

Mummy in cover, lid re-used, tomb of Amenhotep II. (Ms. Q.G. 423).
Tomb No. 14, valley of Kings' Tombs (M.A.F. iii. 123; L.D. iii. 201 a, b; L.D.T. iii. 210; C.N. i. 448, 806).

Qurneh	Temple, foundation deposits. Stone slabs, pottery, glazed plaques, scarabs, rings, gold plaques, glazed vase, copper tools, etc.	(P.S.T. xvii. xviii. xix.; Ms. Q.G. 250).
,,	Stele of Amenmeses usurped	(L.D. iii. 201 c).
Silsileh	Rock shrine with Yuy	(L.D. iii. 201 d).
,,	,, ,, with Bay	(L.D. iii. 202 a).
,,	,, ,, offering to Amen	(L.D. iii. 204 d).
Sehel	Rock stele, by prince of Kush, Sety	(L.D. iii. 202 b).
Aswan	,, ,, Hora adoring name	(P.S. 278; M.I. i. p. 27, 208).
,,	,, ,, by prince of Kush, with Bay	(L.D. iii. 202 c).
Abu Simbel	,, ,, on south of temple, 1st year	(B.H. ii. 135).
Wady Halfa	Graffito Treasurer Piaay, 3rd year.	(Rec. xvii. 162).
Wady Halfa	Graffito Piaay, made by his son, 3rd year	(Rec. xvii. 162).
,,	Graffito Hora, son of Kama, 3rd year	(Rec. xvii. 162).
,,	Graffito Ubkhetau courier, son Hora	(Rec. xvii. 161).

Foundation deposit block.	Marseille.	(Rec. xiii. 122).
Naos with Amen·ra.	B. Mus.	(Rev. A. i. ser. iii. 715).
Piece of statue with name.	Vatican	(W.G. 485).
Scarabs, rare;	with Tausert	(F.S. 315).

Queen—TAUSERT. See previous reign.

Siptah appears to have succeeded his brother Amenmeses, in harmony with the dominant heiress Tausert, whose claims to the throne seem to have been ignored by Amenmeses. The chancellor Bay was engaged in this revolution, as an adherent of Tausert, for he boasts that he was "the great keeper of the seal of the whole land to its limits, establishing the king upon his paternal throne" (L.D. iii. 202 a). He placed his name on blocks, gold plaques, and rings in every foundation deposit of Siptah, like those of the king. This shows that he continued to act in a masterful and assertive manner after the accession; and he was the only official who ever had the royal privilege of burial in the valley of the kings' tombs. But the rule of Siptah was fully acknowledged, and his name was diligently put in over that of the spited Amenmeses: he was inserted as consort of Tausert, where her father had appeared in her tomb, and a scarab gives the two names of Akhenra and Tausert Sitra united.



FIG. 55.—Siptah, from his tomb.

There are only scant references to the events of his reign. In the 3rd year there was a Nubian expedition by Sety the prince of Kush on Pakhons 20 (at Sehel), in which went Piaay the treasurer and scribe of the

inventories, his son, and Hora the royal courier (Rec. xvii. 162). In the 6th year was another expedition, when Hora was promoted to be prince of Kush, and his son Ubkheta held his post of royal courier (Rec. xvii. 161). After this there are no further dates; and as Tausert acted without Siptah to begin with, and her highest date is the 8th year, and Manetho states that she reigned seven years, it is not likely that Siptah exceeded the six years of reign which we find. As the royal courier is stated to have been in Syria as well as Nubia, it is likely that there was also a Syrian expedition.

The tomb of Tausert, which was shared by Siptah, was much like that of their father Sety II., a passage leading to two chambers; but it was usurped by the last brother, Setnekht, who carried on from the end a second passage, leading to two more chambers. The work is fairly good; but the names have suffered much by their changes from Sety to Siptah and again to Setnekht. A large number of offerings are represented in the tomb (C.N. i. 457).



FIG. 56.—Scarab of Siptah. F.P. Coll.

The temple of Siptah was planned less than a third of the size of that of Tausert. Only the trenches in the rock filled with sand are left; and it is uncertain how much, or if any, building had been done. There were eight deposits, one of which had been scattered, and the block from it is now at Marseille. Originally there were about 150 glazed plaques and scarabs, 230 rings, 100 gold and silver foil plaques, all of Siptah; over 100 such objects of Bay; over 1200 glazed models and rings; about 150 copper models of tools, beside pottery, stone mortars, etc. Each deposit had a block of sandstone with the king's cartouche; and a similar block with the titles and name of Bay. The only portraits of Siptah are those in his tomb, so far as they are not untouched heads of Sety II., or reworked heads of Setnekht; this question needs re-examination.

The officials of this reign are—

BAY, great keeper of the seal; probably named from the ram of Mendes *Ba-neb-daddu*, and therefore of Delta origin. His power we have noted above, and his remains in the deposits of Siptah's temple. His tomb is 13 in valley of Kings' Tombs (M.A.F. iii. 122). He is shown at Aswan, being honoured, along with the king, by Sety the prince of Kush (L.D. iii. 202 c); and at Silsileh with the king adoring Amen (L.D. iii. 202 a). Also on a figure of Mnevis from El Arab. C. Mus. (N.Y. 67).

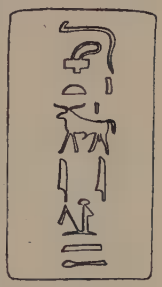


FIG. 57.—Sandstone tablet of Bay, from temple of Siptah.

Hora, a leader and courier of the king, at Wady Halfa, in the 3rd year, promoted to be prince of Kush in the 6th year (Rec. xvii. 162, 161).

Piaay, fan-bearer, keeper of treasury, scribe of the inventories, 3rd year; Wady Halfa (Rec. xvii. 162).

Ramessu-kha-em-neteru the great name of BAY, see above.

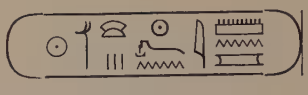
Sety, prince of Kush, Sehel (L.D. iii. 202 b); Aswan (202 c).

Ubkhetau, courier in Syria and Kush, Wady Halfa; son of Hora, prince of Kush (Rec. xvii. 161).

Yuy, courier in Kush, Silsileh (L.D. iii. 201 d).

XIX. 9.

USER·KHAU·RA, SOTEP·EN·RA



1203

1202–

SET·NEKHT, MERER·RA



B.C.

Mummy, doubtful. Tomb of Amenhotep II. C. Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 440).

Lid of coffin ,, ,, C. Mus.

Tomb No. 14, valley of Kings' Tombs, usurped from Tausert and Siptah (M.A.F. iii. 123; L.D. iii. 206 a, b, c; L.D.T. iii. 210; C.N. i. 448, 806).

Sarabit el Khadem, stele (W.R.S. 118).

Nebesheh, usurped sphinx (P.N. 11).

Abbasiyeh, N. of, architrave (N.Y. 65).

Memphis, column of Gama el Turkoman, Cairo (W.G. 490).

,, column, usurped. B. Mus. 64.

Abydos, Merenatef his priest, stele. C. Mus. (M.A. ii. 52).

Karnak, E. door, temple of Mut (B.G.M. 231).

Medinet Habu, stele with Ramessu III. (L.D. iii. 206 d).

,, usurped stele of Sety II. (L.D. iii. 204 d).

Portrait (L.D. iii. 205, 299; No. 68).

Ostrakon (?), prob. Ramessu IV. C. Mus. (Dy. O. 25297).

Papyrus, Sallier I., year 1, Pauni, day 5.

Scarab. (Wilbour).

Queen—THYI-MERENAST (M.A. ii. 52; P.Ab. ii.).

Tomb No. 11. (L.D. iii. 217 e, f).

Scarab. F.P. Coll.

Son—Ramessu-heq-an, Ramessu III. (L.D. iii. 212 a, 213 a).

The only account of this reign is in the retrospective glorification of his father by Ramessu III. at the end of his reign. In that he gives a very dark picture of the state of Egypt during the last few reigns, while Tausert and her brothers were quarrelling at Thebes. In the Harris papyrus, p. 75, we read: "The land of Egypt was overthrown. Every man was his own guide; they had no superiors. From the abundant years of the past we had come to other times. The land of Egypt was in chiefships and in princedoms; each killed the other among noble and mean. Other times came to pass after that; in years of scarcity Arisu, a Syrian,

was to them as chieftain. He made the whole land tributary to himself alone. He joined his companions with him, and seized their property. And they treated the gods in the same manner as they treated the people; offerings were not presented in the shrines of the temples. When the gods turned again to peace, rule was restored to earth in its proper manner. They established their son, come forth from their flesh, as prince of the whole land, on their great throne *User·kha·ra· sotep·en·ra· mery Amen*, son of *Ra Set·nekht·merer Ra·mery·Amen*; he was as Khepra Sutekh in his force; he disposed the whole land which was rebellious; he cut off the abominable who were in Tamera (Egypt); he purified the great throne of Egypt; he established the temples with the offerings for serving the nine gods according to their statutes; he promoted me (Ramessu III.) as heir in the seat of Geb, I was the great chief of the lands of Egypt, with command over the whole land altogether in one place."



FIG. 58.—Setnekht, from his tomb. L.D. iii. 299.

"He rested in his horizon like the nine gods, there were made to him the ceremonies of Osiris, sailing in his royal boat on the river, he rested in his eternal house in the west of Thebes."

Of this reconstructive work as a "saviour of society" there is no trace on the monuments. There is one stele at Sarabit el Khadem set up by Amenemapt and Sety; beside this a usurped tomb, and half a dozen usurpations in the rest of the country, are all that there is to show for this time of trouble. The reign appears

only to have lasted for a year, and in such a serious setting to rights of the government there was no possible time or money to give to works of display.

Probably Ramessu III. was associated with Setnekht on the throne, as the double façade at Medinet Habu (L.D. iii. 206 d) is equally divided between the two kings.



FIG. 59.—Thyimerenast; scene from Abydos.

The queen Thyimerenast is known by a stele from Abydos (M.A. ii. 52), which shows Merenatf, the priest of Setnekht, adoring him as deceased, and the queen; while above Ramessu III. makes offerings to the gods. Two other slabs with the figure and the name of this queen were found re-used in a pavement of the Osiris temple at Abydos, 1903. Probably the tomb No. 11 in the queens' tombs (of which the name is lost) is of this queen, as she there precedes her son Ramessu III. in offering (L.D. iii. 217 e, f). A scarab reading *Ast·mer·mer* seems to belong to her (F.P. Coll.).

As a matter of portraiture we may note that the form of the mouth of Takhat (Fig. 48) reappears in her daughter Tausert (Fig. 52), and again in Setnekht (Fig. 58), stamping him as her son. But Amenmeses and Siptah appear to be born of another mother.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY.

		MON.	B.C.
			1202
Ramessu III.	*Heq·neter·an*	31	
			1171
Ramessu IV.	*Heq·maat·ra*	6	
			1165
Ramessu V.	*Se·kheper·en·ra*	4	
			1161
Ramessu VI.	*Neb·maat·ra*	5?	
			1156
Ramessu VII.	*At·amen·heq·neter·an*	1?	
			1155
Ramessu VIII.	*Akhen·amen*	1?	
			1154
Ramessu IX.	*Se·kha·en·ra*	1?	
			1153
Ramessu X.	*Nefer·ka·ra*	19	
			1134
Ramessu XI.	*Kheper·maat·ra*	6	
			1129
Ramessu XII.	*Men·maat·ra*	27	
			1102

THE succession in this dynasty has long been doubtful, and is not yet certain. The essential facts are as follow: Ramessu III. succeeded Setnekht (Harris pap.). R. IV., R. VI., R. VII., R. VIII. certainly came in that order, as they were the successive sons of R. III., who are shown with their cartouches thus at Medinet Habu. R. V. came before R. VI., as the latter usurped his tomb, leaving the earlier name visible. Of R. IX. a vase was found with one of R. X. in an Apis burial under R. X.; he is therefore before R. X., and presumably next before him. The name of R. XI. appears on the back of a papyrus of R. X., and is therefore

probably later; but ostraka of R. XI. were found in the filling of the entrance of the tomb of R. X., a fact which has been explained as being due to refilling of the entrance after inspection of the tomb of R. X., during the inquiry by R. XI. This point is therefore the least certain. R. XII. must come last, as he was much managed by Herhor, who succeeded him as founding the XXIst dynasty of priest kings. There is another person attributed to this dynasty, Meryatmu; but the



FIG. 60.—Sons of Ramessu III. L.D. iii. 214.

sole mention of him is on a block seen at Heliopolis (B. Rs. 51), which is not published in drawing.

Regarding the relationship of these kings, the last theory, that of Sethe (S.U. ii.), relies on (1) the prince Pa·ra·her·amif, who is named "eldest son" in the tomb (L.D. iii. 234), where he is with R. III., being a different person to Pa·ra·her·amif, who is 5th in the list of princes at Medinet Habu; and he argues, therefore, that list must be a mixture of the families of R. III. and R. VI.; also (2) the queen, who is apparently mother of R. VI. (L.D.T. ii. 234), is nowhere called

royal wife, and that therefore he was not son of a king. Against this we must set the obvious equality of the princes in the list at Medinet Habu, who have all the same titles, and seem to be of one family (L.D. iii. 214 a, b, c). We cannot split such a list into the family of R. III. and of R. VI. without some conclusive evidence. And are the above facts conclusive? I think not. The prince Pa·ra·her·amif might well be the eldest son of R. III.; and yet if he died before his father, the four sons who succeeded to the throne would take precedence of him in the succession in that list, which all agree must have been done under R. VIII., who has his cartouches shown. And the fact about the queen has two uncertainties; she may not have been mother of R. VI., and she may have been called royal wife in some other part of the tomb; to argue from the very damaged fragments of the queens' tombs is too risky where negative evidence is to be relied on. There are instances of the titles of queens appearing separately on different monuments.

The obviously intended sense of the list at Medinet Habu is that the sons of Ramessu III. are there shown, marking by cartouches such as had come to the throne down to the time of carving the inscription. But there is no evidence that the others did not come to the throne; and the names fall in so well with those of the later kings that we must seriously consider this position (see Erman, A.Z. xxi. 60). The list of princes and their later positions seem to be as follows:—

List of Princes (L.D. 214).	Later Position.
Cartouche	*Rameses* (IV.).
,,	*Ra·maat·neb, mer·Amen* (VI.).
,,	*Ra meses, At Amen, neter·heq·uas* (VII.).
Name cartouches	*Ra meses Set her khepsh ef.* *Ra user maat, akhen amen* (VIII.).
Pa·ra·her·amif	Eldest son, died early.
Mentu·her·khepshef	Second heir, died early.
Rameses, mery Atmu	*Mery Atmu.*
Rameses·kha·em·uas	*Rameses·kha·em·uas* (X.).
Rameses·Amen·her·khepshef	*Rameses·Amen·her·khepshef* (XI.).
Rameses Mery·Amen	*Rameses, Mery·Amen* (XII.).

Thus all the series of names of kings excepting (V.) and (IX.) are found in the same order in the list of princes.

Now, is this possible, genealogically? How will the presumptive ages of the family of Ramessu III. fit with the history of the kings? Ramessu III. was born about 1224 B.C., and Ramessu VI. certainly at 1198; see the genealogy of the XIXth dyn., p. 3. Hence the probable history would fall in thus with the later history of these princes suggested above.

	Born B.C.	Age.	Acceded.	Reign.	Died.	Age.
Ramessu III.	1224	22	1202	32	1170	54
Pa ra her amif	1204	...	...	...	1180?	24?
Mentuherkhepshef	1202	...	...	...	1175?	27?
Ramessu IV.	1200	29	1171	6	1165	35
,, V.	1180	15	1165	4	1161	19
,, VI.	1198	37	1161	5?	1156	42
,, VII.	1196	40	1156	1?	1155	41
,, VIII.	1194	39	1155	1?	1154	40
Meryatmu	1192	38	1154	?	1154	38
Ramessu IX.	...	...	1154	1?	1153	...
,, X.	1190	37	1153	19	1134	56
,, XI.	1188	53	1135	6	1129	59
,, XII.	1186	57	1129	27	1102	84

Here the births of the sons of Ramessu III. have been put at intervals of two years; doubtless they were by two or more different queens, and so might come closer, yet there must have been daughters between them; and on the whole we must suppose the family of R. III. to have been born at least down to his 36th year, if not later. If the kings toward the end were born as much as ten years later, as is very probable, then their ages would be so much younger at death. The total extent of the dynasty cannot be spread, owing to the subsequent fixtures under Sheshenq and others. Thus it is seen that there is no difficulty at all in taking the later princes as being the later kings, with whose names they agree; and the whole dynasty may well be of Ramessu III. and his sons.

If, on the contrary, we try to fit in the theory that R. VI. was a grandson of R. III. (Sethe, S.U. ii. 64),

the position becomes quite hopeless chronologically. R. III. cannot have been born in the family history before 1224 (see the horoscope of R. II. and genealogy), and it is therefore absolutely impossible that he could have a grandson born in 1198, as was R. VI. by his horoscope; moreover, R. VI., born in 1198, had a daughter married before his death in 1156 (Koptos stele, P. Kop. xix.). There remains, therefore, no rival theory to the obvious meaning of the list at Medinet Habu, that all are the sons of R. III.; and the presumption, as shown above, is that they succeeded in regular order down to the last one, who was Ramessu XII.

The tomb of Mentu-her-khepshef has been stated to be far more like that of R. IX. than like the tomb of R. III., especially about the entrance: and it has been argued that, therefore, he was not a son of R. III. (A.Z. xxiii. 126). But according to the above family history, R. III. probably began his tomb about 1200, Mentuherkhepshef about 1177, and R. IX. at 1154, hence the similarity may well be as stated.

No notice has here been taken of the Ramessu on the stele of the possessed princess, who used to be called R. XII., thus leaving the present R. XII. to be R. XIII.; it has long been agreed that the stele is a pious fraud, romancing on the history of R. II., and therefore has no place in the later Ramesside history.

We are now in a position to recount the history of this dynasty.

XX. 1. USER·MAAT·RA, MER·AMEN RAMESSU, HEQ·NETER·ON (III.)



1202–1170 B.C.

Mummy and coffin	Deir el Bahri. C. Mus.	(Ms. M. 563, xvii. xviii.). (Ms. Q.G. 422, 431, 433, 435, 519).
Tomb 3 in valley of Kings' Tombs, earlier		(M.A.F. iii. 9, 87, pls. 58–65; L.D. iii. 215, 225; L.D.T. iii. 206, 196; C.M. 253–64; R.C. 97, 107–8; C.N. 404, 441, 744).
Tomb 11 in valley of Kings' Tombs, later		
Sarcophagus of red granite, Lid, Cambridge	P. Mus.	(M.A.F. iii. 116–8; Y.L. xiv.).

Sarabit el Khadem	Lintel and stele.	
,, ,,	Vase pieces. B. Mus. 4803 c	(W.R.S. 137–9).
Tanis	Kneeling sandstone figure	(P.T. ii. 11).
,,	Kneeling grey granite figure	(P.T. ii. 11).
Kantara by Faqus	Stele	(N.G. ix. f).
Yehudiyeh	Palace	(T.S.B.A. vii. 177; S.B.A. iv. 89; Rec. viii. 1; A.Z. xxiii. 62; Ms. Q.G. 159, 338).
	(Tiles. B. Mus.; C. Mus., Sèvres, etc.)	
,,	Statue	(S.B.A. iv. 89).
,,	Alabaster vase. B. Mus. 32,071.	
Heliopolis	Chapel of Mnevis. C. Mus.	(Rec. xxv. 29).
,,	Block with name	(W.G. 506).
Khasus	Inscribed block	(N.Y. 67).
Memphis	Pillar with *ka* name	(B. Rec. iv. 2, 4).
,,	Block, usurped by R. VI.	
,,	Serapeum, Apis	(M.S. 16).
Surarieh	Shrine	(L.D. iii. 207 a).
Tehneh	Stele with Sebek and Amen	(My. E. 404).
Helleh	Tomb of charioteer	(Acad. 1885, ii. 110).
Abydos	Statue	(M.A. 354, p. 33).
,,	Name on doorway of Sety I.	(M.A. i. 10).
,,	Slab with Thiy-merenast	(Ab. ii. xxxv. 8).
,,	Triad by Se·ast	(M.A. i. 4, 5).
Denderah	Block	(D.D. iii. c).
Nubt	Lintel, etc.	(P.N.B. 70).
Koptos	Stele. C. Mus.	(P.K. xviii. p. 16).

Koptos	Baboon sandstone. Manchester	(P.K. 16).
Kus	Stele, black granite, yr. XVI.	(C.N. ii. 292).
Karnak	Temple, in first court of great temple	(C.N. ii. 10; L.D. iii. 207 d; B. Rec. i. 40).
,,	Temple of Ptah, north, restored gate	(A.S. iii. 64).
,,	Temple of Khonsu, building	(M.K. plan; L.D. 207 b; B.E. 237).
,,	Temple, W. of Temple of Mut	(M.K. plan; B.E. 254).
,,	Altar in court	(W.G. 507).
,,	Inscriptions on pylon IX.	(B.E. 252; C.N. ii. 192).
,,	Inscriptions on great hall	(E. Ob. 116).
,,	Inscriptions on columns of great hall	(B.E. 245).
,,	Inscriptions on chamber in E. end of temple	(C.N. ii. 172).
Luqsor	In temple of Amenhotep III., block and wall	(W.G. 507).
,,	Stele quartzite	(Rec. xvi. 55).
Qurneh	Inscription on pylon	(My. E. 455).
,,	Block to north of Qurneh	(P.O.N. 406).
Ramesseum	Pillar inscribed	(L.D. iii. 219 a).
,,	Lintel	(Q.R. xiv.)
Medinet Habu (Detailed references are given in table following.)	Temple	(D.M.H. whole account; L.D. iii. 208–14; C.M. 199–228; R.S. 122–44; R.E. 109-47; D.H. I. 7-34; P.Ins. 147-58; G.F. 1-6; B.T. 364, 1197–1209; T.S.B.A. vii. 1; Rec. xix. 15, xx. 113, xxi. 30).
,,	Moulding from, Berl. Mus.	(Berl. Cat. 2077).
,,	Window opening	(Ms. Q.G. 163).
,,	Group, king, Horus, Set	(Ms. Q.G. 161).
,,	Stele with Setnekht	(L.D. iii. 206 d).
,,	Stele, behind	(L.D. iii. 218 c).
,,	On temple of Tahutmes	(L.D.T. ii. 163).
El Kab	Tomb of Setau. *Sed heb* inscription	(B.T. 1129; C.N. i. 271).
,,	Ra temple	(My. E. 508).
,,	Block in temenos	(L.D.T. iv. 37).
Silsileh quarries	Steles, with Amen, Mut, Khonsu	(C.M. 120; R.R. 31, 4).

Silsileh quarries	Amen, Sebek, 9 columns and 2 officials	(C.M. 106; R.R. 33, 1).
,,	Ptah and Sekhet	(R.R. 32, 2).
,,	Sebek and Hathor	(R.R. 33, 2).
W. Silsileh	Stele, Amen, Hor, and Hapi, VIth year	(L.D. iii. 218d; A.Z. xi. 129).
,,	Graffiti, year V., Pakhons	(L.D. vi. 23, 6, 8; B.H. ii. 144).
,,	,, year III.	(L.D. vi. 23, 7).
Kom Ombo	Name on re-used block	(B. Rs. 279).
Elephantine	Two inscriptions	(M.I. i. 119, 121).
Aswan	Two officials adoring cartouches	(M.I. i. 41, 183).
,,	With gods	(M.I. i. 95, 170).
,,	Name	(M.I. i. 95, 150 *bis*).
Semneh	Official adoring cartouches, on temple	(L.D. iii. 47 a).

Statues	Head, sandstone	F. Mus.	(W.G. 508).
,,	Ushabtis	P. Mus.	(P.L. p. 43, 208);
		B. Mus.	8675, 33938.
,,	Ushabtis, bronze	P. Mus.	(P.L. p. 28, 71, 72);
		B. Mus.	8695 a.
Portrait			(L.D. iii. 215).

Pillar	P. Mus. D. 63	(W.G. 508).
Alabaster base	Alex. Mus.	(A.S. v. 123).
Stele, adoring Horus	P. Mus. C. 217	(W.G. 508).
Stele, Osiris, Isis, and Horus	C. Mus.	(R.E. 35).
Ushabti, limestone	C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 263).
Ushabti, wood	P. Mus.	(P.R. ii. 82).
Pectoral, gilt bronze inlaid	H. Coll.	(P. Cat. 1431).
Mortar of red granite	C. Mus.	
Altars of R. II. usurped	P. Mus.	(L.A. xiv.; R.M.L. p. 210; D. 61).
	Marseille Mus.	(Ms. C.M. 5).
Scarabs, common.		

Papyri	Great Harris papyrus	B. Mus.	(*Birch Egn. Hieratic Pap. of reign of Rameses III.*; R.P. vi. 21, viii. 5).
,,	Conspiracy papyrus	T. Mus.	(R.P. viii. 57).
,,	Sorcery case		(Am. P. 20).
,,	Works at Ramesseum	T. Mus.	(P.P.T. xxxv.–xlvii.).
,,	Works of temple of Hathor	T. Mus.	(P.P.T. lxi.).
,,	*Heb sed*	P. Mus.	(Rec. xvi. 68).

Papyri	War in Syria	T. Mus.	(P.P.T. lxx. f, g).
,,	Names	T. Mus.	(P.P.T. lxiv. b–g).
,,	Name	Vienna	(W.G. 508).
,,	List of documents	Vienna	(A.Z. xiv. 2).
Ostraka	From tomb	C. Mus.	(Dy. O. 25008, 13).

Queen—Ast-amāsereth	On statue of R. III.	(L.D. iii. 207 g).
Ast (Same?)		(Abbott Pap. R.P. xii. 109).
,,	Stele of Amenemapt	(Berl. Cat. p. 134, 3422).
,,	Tomb, No. X.	(L.D. iii. 224 a).
Humazery	Deir el Bakhit	(L.D.T. iii. 101).
Sons—Pa·ra·her·amif	In tomb XI. of queen	(L.D. iii. 217 f, g).
Mentu·her·khep-shef	Tomb, Thebes	(M.A.F. iii. 164; L.D. iii. 217 a–d; L.D.T. ii. 220).
,,	Heart scarab, Berlin	(Cat. p. 188).
,,	Portrait	(L.D. iii. 216).
Ramessu Ra-maat-neb, mer-Amen Ra meses, At-Amen Ra meses, Set-her-khopshef Rameses Mery-atmu Rameses Amen-her-khepshef Rameses Mery-amen		(L.D. iii. 214).

Dated remains—

YEAR			
I.	Pakhons 26	Accession Med. Habu	(G.F. iv. 10; B.T. 364).
III.	. . .	Silsileh, graffito	(L.D. vi. 23, 7).
IV.	Mekhir	Revenue text } Med. Habu, S.	(D.M.H. 177).
V.	. . .	Historic text } Med. Habu	(D.M.H. 108).
V.	Pakhons	Silsileh, quarrying graffiti	(L.D. vi. 23, 6, 8).
VI.	Phamenoth	Silsileh, hymn to Nile	(L.D. iii. 218 d; A.Z. xi. 129).
VI.	. . .	Turin papyrus	(W.G. 508).
VIII.	. . .	Historic text } Med. Habu	(D.M.H. 92).
X.	. . .	Turin papyrus	(W.G. 508).
XI.	Mesore 10	Triumphal text } Med. Habu	(D.M.H. 82).
XI.	Mekhir 9	Triumphal text } Med. Habu	(D.M.H. 69).
XII.	Pakhons	Revenue text } Med. Habu	(D.M.H. 177).

YEAR		
XII. . . .	Speech of Ptah	Med. Habu (D.M.H. 64).
XII. . . .	Stele	Med. Habu (D.M.H. 68).
XVI. Pauni	Offerings to Amen	Karnak (B. Rec. i. 40).
XVI. Pauni 1	Stele	Kus (C.N. ii. 292).
XVII. Pharmuthi to XVIII. Phamenoth 15	Turin papyrus	(P.P.T. lxi. p. 77).
XXII. . . .	Endowments for Amen	(Pap. Har. 17).
XXIV. . . .	Turin papyrus	(W.G. 508).
XXVI. . . .	Apis burial	(M.S. p. 16).
XXIX. Mesore 25 to Pakhons 15	Turin papyrus	(P.P.T. xxxv.–xlvii.).
XXXII. . . .	Building of tower	Med. Habu (D.M.H. 58).
XXXII. Epiphi 6	Harris papyrus	(R.P. vi. 23).
XXXI. Years of reign, see Pap. Mallet		(Rec. i. 53).

As the temple of Medinet Habu is the main authority for the history of this reign, it is needful to refer to it constantly and systematically. All references here are made to the full account by Daressy (1897), as (D.M.H.); and the references of all textual publications are given page by page to the account of Daressy as follows:—

		D.M.H.	D.H.I.	C.M.	P. Ins.	R.E.	L.D. iii.	R.S.[1]	G.F.
1st pylon out	S	61	11–12	204					
		64	7–10			131–8	209 c		
	N	69	13–15			121–6	209 d		
		72	16–17			109–13	210 a		
in	S	80	18–27			114–17	(Rec. i. 96)		
1st court	N	91			147–8	127			
2nd pylon out	N	92							1–3
	S	98				129	211	144	
2nd court	S	105		205				136	
		106		206	157–8				
		107		207	156				
		107		208	155				
		108	(B.T. 1197–1207)			139–47		139	
2nd pylon in	S	116		114 A.B.					
		120			148–9	118–9			
		...			149–50	120			
2nd court	N	121		209–10					
		123		211–12					
		124		213–14			212–13		
	W	133					214		

[1] Rosellini is omitted when inferior to C.M.

		D.M.H.	D.H.I.	C.M.	P. Ins.	R.S.[1]	G.F.
Hypostyle		137			152–5		
Treasury		138	28–29				
		139	30–34				
Outside	S	177		(A.Z. iv. 11–13; C.N. i. 370)			4–6
	N	186	47 a	217		131	
		188		218–9			
		189		220 A.B.			
		190		221–2			
		191		223			
		192		224–5			
		193		226			
		194		228			
		195		227			

The son of Setnekht succeeded his father, with whom he had already been associated as king (L.D. iii. 206 d). Like a true Ramesside, his first act was to appropriate his father's tomb (No. 11); effacing the tomb of Siptah and Tausert to place his father there, and abandoning his own tomb, which he had already begun (No. 3). He thus economised the small difference at his accession between the work on No. 3 and No. 11, at the expense of his ancestors.

The great temple of Medinet Habu was begun early in the reign; the quarries of Silsileh being worked in the IIIrd year. The sanctuary, hypostyle hall, and treasury were the earliest parts. And Wiedemann assigns a war to the Ist year, apparently only on the ground that captives are represented in these earlier sculptures; but this ground is insufficient. In the IVth year an endowment of the temple was fixed by decree, which was later expanded in the XIIth year.

In the Vth year began the great events of the reign. Just as in the days of Merenptah, so again the western races had gradually forced themselves into the Delta; and, after a few quiet years of organising, Egypt proceeded to expel them. "The Lebu and Mashauash were seated in Kemi; they took the cities on the western side from Memphis as far as Karbana, reaching the great river on its whole side, for they had captured the town of Gautut. For many years they

[1] Rosellini is omitted when inferior to C.M.

were in Egypt" (H.P. 77). Karbana is the Greek Herakleion (B.G. 854) which was near Abukir, on the Kanobic arm of the Nile. Just where this arm is lost at the lakes, on the farthest point of continuous country, are Nezlet Gorbal and Ezbet Garbal or Korbany (D.E.), at the modern Kafr Dawar. Hence the expression above means from head to foot of the Delta, or from Cairo to Alexandria, as we should say. Gautut or Gauu is the same as Kanobos (B.G. 820), and the Libyans had therefore occupied the coast region east of Alexandria. Then "the people of the Tamahu were assembled together, united with the Lebu, the Sepdu (?), the Mashauasha, to attack our land, the Bureru, their warriors fulfilled their plans" (D.M.H. 111). "The Mashauasha, the Lebu, the Sabata, the Qayqasha, the Shaytep, the Hasa, the Baqana" (H.P. 77). These are certainly western people, but none of these names (except Libya) are to be found in either ancient or modern times between Egypt and Tunis; nearly all occur, however, in Tunis and Algeria.

Tamahu	Tama-suna, 4° 40′ E; Tama-nuna, 5°; Tama-gada, *Timgad*, 6½°.
Lebu	Libyca, Lake, 8°–9°.
Sapdu=Sabata	Suptu, 6½°; Tubu-Suptus, 4° 50′.
Mashaua(sha)	Maxyes=S. Tunisia, 9°–10°.
Bureru	Bararus, 10° 40′; Bure, 9° 20′.
Shaytep	Sitifis, *Setif*, 5½°.
Hasa	Auzia, 3° 40′; Ouaza-gada, 5½° etc.
Baqana	Bokanon, 6° W., near Fez.

Only the Qayqasha and Qahaq are not found here. The Qayqa(sha) may be a variant of the Aqayua(sha), and we have already noticed that these allies of the Mashaua(sha) are probably connected with Agbia 9° and El Aghwat 3°. Broadly, these names cover Algeria and Tunis, with perhaps one in Marocco. It is an open question as to whether the names of classical and modern ages show the positions of this group of people some centuries before, or whether they have drifted all together to the west. But as these lands are far more adapted to maintain a large population than the region nearer Egypt, they are more likely to

be the home ground of a large body of invaders; and the facial resemblance of the Mashauash to the Shakalsha and Shardaina accords with the Maxyes in Tunisia, being near Sicily and Sardinia.

The names of the chiefs are given as Didi, Mashakenu, Mâr-aqu, . . . mâr, and Zaut-mâr (D.M.H. 113). In these, mâr or mor is probably the Mauri or Moors, as Masha is the Mashau or Maxyes. The values of the other roots, Didi, -kenu, -ayu, and Zaut, are yet



FIG. 61.—Map of tribes in Algeria and Tunis.

unknown. Unfortunately the fifty lines of inscription give no more historical detail; but in the papyrus we read of taking captive myriads of women and children (showing that the foreigners intended a tribal occupation, and not merely a war for plunder), and hundreds of thousands of cattle. The captive men were branded and made galley slaves, and the cattle given to Amen. In the temple text a portion dealing with northern conquests begins with the royal protocol at line 51;

and it seems more likely that the last 25 lines were added after the Syrian war (D.M.H. 114).

The building of the temple at Medinet Habu was continued actively, and in the Vth year the treasurer Sety-emheb came to quarry at Silsileh with 2000 men, 200 quarrymen, and 800 boatmen in 40 boats of 100 cubits long, and 4 despatch boats (L.D. vi. 23, 8). In the VIth year was engraved at Silsileh a third copy of the hymn to the Nile of Ramessu II. and Merenptah.

After three years' rest the land was shaken in year



FIG. 62.—Ramessu III. receiving hands of slain. Medinet Habu.

VIII. by another great danger, which is recited in a proclamation by the king. A league of tribes, destroying all before them, the Kheta, Qedi, Qerqamesha, Arothu, and Arosa (the people of northern Syria) encamped in one place in the midst of the land of Amar; they swept away the inhabitants, but fire and the grave were before them in Egypt. With them were united the Pulosathu, the Zakkaru, the Shaklusha, the Daanau, and the Uashashau (D.M.H. 95). And the king "slaughtered the Daanona in their isles, the

Zakkaru, the Pulosathu, consuming the Shairadana, the Uashashau of the sea" (P.H. 76). Of these peoples none occur in the invasion from the west, and only the Shaklusha occur in a western connection before. It is therefore in the northern connection that we must look for the names. The Pulosathu are generally recognised as Philisti, though whether they were in Crete or in Palestine at this date is uncertain; but as they are said to be "in the midst of the sea," Crete is the more likely.

The Zakkaru have been generally connected with the



FIG. 63.—Philistines. Medinet Habu.

Teukroi, and Teuker is said to come from Crete; perhaps we may see the name yet in Zakro at the eastern end of the island. The Daanau and Uasha(sha) are said both to belong to the sea. The Danai were Argives, and Danaos was king of Rhodes and Argos, so that Rhodes might well be the home of the Daanau. The Uasha have been connected with Oaxos in Crete; but being next to the Daanau, they may well belong to Ixia at the south end of Rhodes, or Iassos, on the mainland in Caria. Perhaps all three places were named from one tribe. Altogether these allies of the north Syrians seem to have come by sea from Crete

and Rhodes, which accounts for the importance of shipping as shown in the battles.

Egypt, warned by this great horde gathered in the Amorite land, laid out its defences; the king fortified the mouths of the Nile with vessels of war, transports, and barques, fully armed with warriors. They were completely successful in repelling the invaders, throwing them and their things in the water, and driving others back (D.M.H. 96); "captured at once and led in captivity to Egypt like the sands of the shore, I



FIG. 64.—Sea battle, north side of Medinet Habu.

enclosed them in a fortress fettered in my name; many were their youths as hundreds of thousands; I compelled them all to bear tribute of clothes and corn in the treasuries and granaries yearly" (H.P. 76). This is the great naval battle shown on the north outside of Medinet Habu (C.M. 222). Unfortunately there is no account of the Syrian war; and that a great land fight took place we only learn from the scenes of groups of Amorite captives, and the Philistines and Zakkaru escaping in ox waggons (C.M. 220). Unhappily the

lists of captive towns have been so largely copied from earlier conquests, that we cannot use them for history; especially as the walls of the Ramesseum, which were probably their prototype, have nearly all been destroyed, and cannot be compared.

Three years later, in year XI., the westerners again attacked the land in the spring, for the triumphal inscription is dated Mesore 10 (May 23); the Mashauash and the Tahennu were overthrown, and their towns ravaged; the chief, Masha-shal, son of Kapur, was beaten down, his captain and troops no more existed, their chiefs were made living prisoners, with their goods, their children, their cattle, and their horses. The hordes of the Mashauasha and people of the Tamahu were chastised, and taken; the god received them as booty, as animals caught in a trap. The Mashauasha were destroyed at once; the Lebu and the Sepdu were massacred. Such were the boasts of the king on the inner side of the great pylon at Medinet Habu (D.M.H. 82–7). The war seems to have been carried into the enemies' land to some extent, as their towns were destroyed: the alliance seems to have partly been the same as in the Vth year, the Mashaua, Tamahu, and Sepdu being named, but no other tribes.

After this close of the wars on both sides of the land, the plunder was distributed. In the XIIth year was made a re-endowment of the temple of Medinet Habu, probably on the completion of the building (D.M.H. 177). Attention was then given to Karnak, where the list of offerings is dated in the XVIth year. The ever-encroaching priesthood of Amen acquired larger grants again in the XXIInd year (P.H. 17), which we shall notice below. At the close of the reign some reconstruction took place at the Ramesseum; a lintel was found there (Q.R. xvii.); and in the XXIXth year a papyrus diary of a scribe, Paheri, relates the erection of a door (P.P.T. p. 58), the continual strikes of the workmen for food (59, 60, 61), the distribution of corn (63), a burnt-sacrifice of an ox on the altar of the

Ramesseum, and the supply of concubines to the king on his visit to the work (64).

The close of the reign is marked by the compilation of the great summary of the religious endowments of the king, and the recital of the main facts of his reign, in the great Harris papyrus, which is 133 feet long, and of the best work of the time. It is dated in the XXXIInd year, Epiphi 6 (April 14), at which time Ramessu IV. was already named as king (pl. 79); and, by the mention of R. III. going down to the underworld and the document being addressed to all the gods, it seems as if he were already dead, and that the papyrus was a funereal recital of his acts, a statement prepared for him to plead in the judgment of Osiris. We here give a short outline of the contents.

Page 1. This is a statement of the acts of Ramessu III. to inform gods, spirits, and men of his deeds.

2. *Gifts to Amen.*—Ramessu prays for future life. 3–5. Building the temple of Medinet Habu. 6. Its furnishing. 7–8. Its endowments of estates and serfs. 9. Building a temple in Phoenicia. 10. Totals of offerings to the Theban triad in 31 years; cattle and 62,626 serfs. 11. Estates, including 56 towns of Egypt and 9 towns of Syria. 12–16. Offerings: gold, silver, bronze, cattle, metal vases, linen, oil, wine, etc. 17–21. Offerings for the 20 days' feast in the 22nd to 32nd year: bread wine, fruit, cattle, fish, flowers, metals, etc. 22–3. Address to Amen.

24–6. *Gifts to Heliopolis.*—Buildings and statues. 27–30. General account of endowments. 31. 12,963 serfs. 32. 45,544 cattle, estates, 103 towns of Egypt, linen, corn, etc. 33. Gold, silver, linen, and wine. 34. Precious stones, olive yards. 35. Bread. 36. Birds, incense, fruit, etc.

37. *Gifts to Hapi.*—Bread and beer. 38–40. Birds, incense, fruit, etc. 40–41. Statues of Hapi of gold, silver, stones, etc. 42. Address in favour of R. IV.

43. *Gifts to Ptah.*—44. Prayer to Ptah. 45–6. Account of buildings. 47–50. Furniture and festivals. 51. Offerings of serfs, cattle, estates, silver, and corn.

52. Gold and silver vases, lazuli, bronze. 53–4. Wines, etc. 54–6. Offerings from 29th to 31st year to Hapi and Ptah. 56. Address to Ptah.

57. *Building, etc., for the gods.*—For Anher. 58. For Tahuti at Sesennu; for Osiris at Abydos; for Upuatu of Siut. 59. For Sutekh of Nubti; for Horkhenti-khrati. 60. For Sutekh of Rameses. 61. Serfs for these and other temples. 62. Cattle, gold, etc., for temples. 63. Linen. 64. Wine, pectorals, rings, beads, etc. 65. Vegetables. 66. Corn.

67–74. *Grand total.*—Divine images, 2756; slaves, 113,433; cattle, 490,386; land, 1,071,780 aruras (about 1300 square miles, probably $\frac{1}{6}$th of the whole land); towns of Egypt, 160; towns of Syria, 169; gold, £80,000; silver, bronze, lead, etc. etc.

75–79. *History.*—75. Decay of land, acts of Setnekht. 76–7. Conquests over the invaders. 78. Revival of Egypt. 79. Death of R. III. and accession of R. IV.

There are some historical details mentioned which are undated, and which we have not yet named in the history. In pl. 76, "I made an attack on the Saaru (S. Palestine) of the tribes of the Shasu, and spoiled their villages of men and things, cattle also, bound and led them captive as tribute to Egypt; I gave them to the gods as slaves for the temples." This seems to have been apart from the war of the invasion in the 8th year. In pl. 77, "I made a very large well in the land of Aina, enclosed by a wall like a mountain of granite, 20 square feet on the basis, 30 cubits high, like a tower. Its doorpost, made of cedar wood, the locks of bronze with bolts." Also an expedition was made down the Red Sea. "I built large vessels and transports, all equipped with many workmen and many servants. Their captains of ships upon them with surveyors and labourers, to provide them with the products of Egypt without number. Sailing away on the great sea of the waters of Kat, they set out for the land of Punt, no mischief happens to them arriving safely. Laden are the ships and transports with all the products of Ta-neter. Going at the head of their tributes

toward Egypt, they depart, arrive at the land of Koptos (Kosseir), and anchor in peace with their cargo. Discharged on the landing on asses, on men, and then loaded in boats on the river and canals of Koptos they come." This was a repetition of the great expedition of Hatshepsut. Another expedition (pl. 78) was for copper: "I sent out messengers to the land of Ataka (probably Sinai, beyond the present Gebel Ataka) for the great foundries (? mines) of copper which are in that place. Their transports were loaded, the rest came on asses. Having found their foundries loaded with metal, loaded as myriads on the ships, they moved along towards Egypt, arriving safely. The cargo was piled in the stores as hundreds of thousands of the colour of gold. I let the people see them like marvels. I sent officers and chiefs to the land of Mafkat of my mother Hathor, mistress of turquoises, carrying to her silver, gold, linen, mixed linen things. There were brought to me marvels of real turquoises in many bags." Beside these foreign labours, afforesting, which is always so much needed in Egypt, was carried out. "I made to be planted the entire land with trees in leaf. I let the people sit in their shade. I let the women of Egypt walk out to the place she wished, no vile persons molested her on her way" (R.P. viii. 49, 50). These accounts show Ramessu III. to have been not only a successful fighter like Merenptah, but to have carefully developed trade with the south and east; for his ships set out laden with the products of Egypt, and with precious metals and linen to trade with. He also policed the country well and ensured justice. Altogether this is a better record than that of any king since the grand days of the XVIIIth dynasty.

The reign was not, however, without its troubles. Society was in a decayed state. From the king—whose trifling in his *harem* is sculptured on his pavilion at Medinet Habu and satirised in papyri, and whose supply of concubines on his visit to the Ramesseum is casually noted by the scribe with other details of the

work (P.P.T. 64)—down to the petty official, who notes in his travelling diary (P.P.T. 74), his consorting with the wives of fishermen, morality seems to have been at its lowest. The natural accompaniment of this was a mass of intrigue and corrupt superstition. An overseer of cattle, Pen-huy-ban, asked for a book of magic, and it was supplied to him from the king's

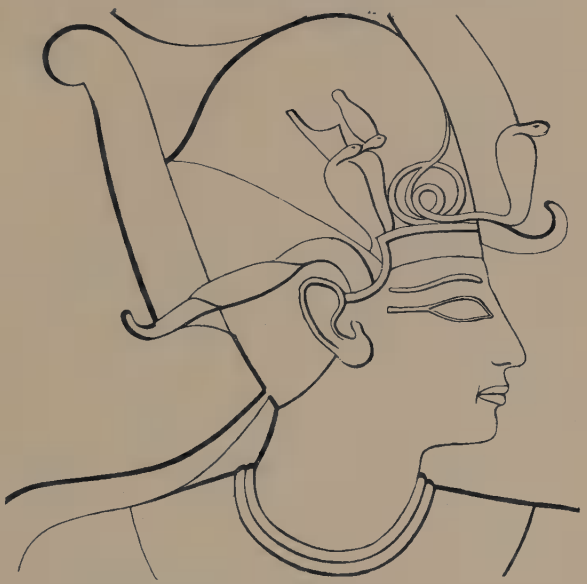


FIG. 65.—Ramessu III., from his tomb. L.D. iii. 215.

library, "whereby he could strike blind the people and reach the innermost recesses of the *harem* and other secret places. He made figures of wax and love charms, and these he had carried to the interior by the hand of an officer Adoram, so that one of the female servants might be removed and others bewitched; and that thereby messages might be taken to the interior, and others brought to the outside." For this

palace intrigue with the *harem* he was condemned to death (Pap. Amherst, p. 21).

Another great case of intrigue is recorded in the judicial papyrus of Turin. The women of the palace, who were not allowed out to see their relatives, and were probably, therefore, concubines of the king, made a conspiracy, and communicated with their relatives through the keeper (or agha) of the *harem* Pai-baka-kamen, an inspector Mesdisura, the keeper of the king's rooms in the *harem* Paanauk, and a scribe of the king's rooms Penduauu. The messengers of the *harem* in attendance, Pa-nifu-em-dua-Amen, Karpusa, Khaemapt, Kha-em-maa-enra, Sety-em-per-Tahuti, Sety-em-per-Amen, an inspector Uarma, a servant Ash-hebst, and a scribe Pa-raka, were all cognisant of the matter, but did not report it. The wives of the guards, who heard of the conspiracy, were also implicated; beside Paiari son of Roma a treasurer, Ban-em-uast chief of archers of Kush, and more than a dozen other officials. The whole of these were executed. Others who gave false evidence, but were not in the conspiracy, had their noses and ears amputated, and were kept in penal servitude. The matter was so serious that a special court was constituted of twelve officials—treasurers, inspectors, and scribes—to try the accused; and of this court three members were condemned, along with others, by the king after the finding of the court on those who were previously accused (D.M. ii. 97; R.P. viii. 53). Another papyrus (Rollin) connects the case of magic with the conspiracy, stating that the wax figures and charms were to be used by Pai-baka-kamen (D.M. ii. 202).

The tomb of Ramessu III. was originally begun at No. 3 of the Kings' Tombs, during the life of his father; and Setnekht began No. 11 for himself, and had even reached as far as the decoration. Then at Setnekht's death, after a year's reign, Ramessu took his father's tomb for himself, and basely altered the tomb of his uncle and aunt, Siptah and Tausert, to adapt it for his father. He was indeed emulating Ramessu II., who began by steal-

ing the temple site of his father, the memorial of whom he thrust on to the temple of his grandfather at Qurneh.

No. 3, left unfinished, has only a single hall, and a small chamber at the side. A band of cartouches between uraei along the cornice give the name, and traces of figures on the walls show that it was decorated.

No. 11 opens with a passage having five small chambers on each side (see B.E. 264), covered with figures of offerings, armour, weapons, furniture, and religious scenes; this is the most important series of later paintings. After a chamber, in the next corridor are the 4th and 5th hours of Duat. The next chamber (V.) has the four sons of Horus and funeral gods. The hall



FIG. 66.—Mummy of Ramessu III. Cairo Museum.



FIG. 67.—Caricature of Ramessu III.; papyrus. L.A. xxiii.

(VI.) has the passage of the sun through the 4th and 5th and 6th portal of Hades, continued in a side chamber. The descent, with the great serpent on the side, leads to a double hall with the book of "opening the mouth" of the mummy. The great hall is supported by eight pillars, and has a small room opening from each corner. The sarcophagus of red granite stood here, with elaborate scenes on it filled in with green wax (P. Mus.); the lid of it is now at Cambridge. The scenes are from the Book of Hades, and the king offering. The corner chambers

have the sacred cattle, forms of Osiris, the kingdom of Osiris, and the text of the destruction of mankind (T.S.B.A. viii. 412). The continuation of the axis has three small chambers, with figures of genii (M.A.F. iii. 87–120).

The mummy of Ramessu III. was found at Deir el Bahri, still perfect and intact, but it had been placed in the coffin of Nefertari. The wrapping had been renewed under Pinezem I. The face is far more brutal than that of Ramessu II., and has a grim resemblance to the lion caricature of the king in the satyric papyrus (L.A. xxiii. base line).

The monuments are almost entirely restricted to Tell el Yehudiyeh and Thebes, no extensive work being found elsewhere.

Parts of a magnificent building at Tell el Yehudiyeh were disclosed by the native diggers of earth about 1870, and were further opened by the government, and left to be destroyed. No plan of the building was made; and for ten years it was a quarry of alabaster, and a mine of beautiful inlaid tiles and decoration. Some pieces with figures of captives, and thousands of rosettes for inlaying (B. Mus., C. Mus. etc.), are all that remain, beside a rough account of the place (T.S.B.A. vii. 177); and by 1887 there was hardly anything left on the site (N.Y. 6, 7). A subject of much difficulty in the earlier accounts of the objects was the marking of "Greek letters" on the backs of many of the tiles; but as we now know that such signs were used long before the XXth dynasty, they only show that foreigners were employed as workmen in making these tiles.

The tomb of a Mnevis bull at Heliopolis was about 19 × 25 feet, covered with scenes, now happily removed entire (C. Mus.). At the Serapeum the burial of an Apis bull in the XXVIth year is recorded; but there is no statement of the nature of the monument which shows this (M.S. Ms. 147). The unimportant monuments are sufficiently indicated in the list.

At Karnak a complete temple to Amen, 200 feet long, was built in front of the great pylons, facing the north;

the wall of the subsequent forecourt was carried on each side of it, so that it then projected into the court. It consists of a long peristyle court, a short hypostyle hall, three small chapels for the triad, and a few back rooms. Back to back with this, at a furlong south, is another temple of the same size for Khonsu, sculptured by Ramessu V., and added to later. Yet a third temple of the same size was built in the temenos of Mut.



FIG. 68.—Front of Medinet Habu.

At Medinet Habu the great temple was the main work of this reign. A small temple of Tahutmes III. already stood here; and now set close against the south side of its temenos was the tall pavilion of Ramessu, copied from a Syrian fortress, and forming the gateway to the great temple which stood further back. It is strange that for so grand a monument a site was not adopted more compatible with the earlier temple. That the great temple survives, is only due

to there not having been any temple built at Thebes of later date. Merenptah used up the temple of Amenhotep III.; doubtless Ramessu III. used up the stone of Ramessu II. and Merenptah; but no later king needed to use up the last of the great temples, and so it remains. The entrance gate is of three storeys, and is built in a fortress form; as the celebrated scenes of the king in his *harem* are in the upper storey, it was a pavilion for the king's residence. Thus it is mentioned in the account of the temple: "I made to thee a noble palace of the king in it, like the house of Atmu above; the columns, the hinges, and the gates of gold, the great balcony crowned with best gold" (H.P. 4). The three balconies across the passage way must have been a striking feature; the doorways and brackets for them yet remain. On the front are the scenes of smiting a group of enemies; and on the sides of the entrance are good groups of foreigners led by the king. Along the base of the front is the important series of kneeling figures of the chiefs of foreign peoples, the best racial portraits that we know: on the south half their names are (N, negro) Keshi N, *x*, *x* N, Lebu, Turses N, Mashuash, Tharaua N; facing these, on the north half, are the northern and eastern people, Kheta, Amar, Zakeruy, Shairdana of the sea, Sha . . . Tuirsha of the sea, Pa(lista). The Sha . . . is generally taken to have been Shakalsha; and rightly so, as the face is exactly like that of the neighbouring Mashuash and Shairdana, while it differs from the Shasu, whose name has been proposed for this. The positions of these peoples have been already noticed. But here the Tuirsha, or Tuir people, appear to be northern, rather than in Africa. The position near Carthage proposed under Merenptah might therefore be less likely than the connection with Thyrea and Tyros in E. Laconia, Thera, and Tylissos, west of Knossos in Crete, all of which might well be named from a sea-people, who may indeed have founded also the Carthaginian Turuza.

The front of the temple itself is a great pylon with

scenes of slaying enemies, and a copy of the decree of Ptah copied from Abu Simbel. The lists of captured towns "is only composed of fragments taken from the earlier lists drawn up by Tahutmes III., Sety I., and Ramessu II., put together and disfigured by changes of spelling, which are but generally errors of the scribe" (D.M.H. 63, 73).

The first court has on the back of the pylon (N) the flight of the Libyans before the king, and (S) the king seated in triumph receiving the accounts of the slain, 2175 Mashuasha, and over 14,000 animals, showing that the invasion was a tribal migration. On the north is a series of captives on the pillars; and on the wall the king addressing his sons and generals; the siege of the Amorite capital by the Shardana; the king in his chariot with captives, and conducting them to the gods. On the south is a great review of the army. On the west wall is a long historical inscription of the VIIIth year, and captives led before Amen.

The peristyle court has on the east wall the king before Amen and the procession of Sokar; on the south wall the battle against northerners, the king in a chariot leading captives to Amen, and the long historical text of the Vth year. On the north wall the feast of Amen, and the procession of Min. On the west wall the king making offerings, and the figures of his sons.

The hypostyle hall is unroofed and partly destroyed; it shows the king making offerings and presenting captives.

The treasury to the south of this has, figured on its sides, the rich offerings made to Amen. The various chambers around the sanctuary have religious scenes. The most important is a chamber with an astronomical ceiling (D.M.H. 155), almost exactly copied from the Ramesseum.

The outside of the temple has three great subjects. On the south a religious calendar; on the west wall (S) war against negroes, and (N) war against Libyans and Asiatics, continued on to the N. wall, where is the great sea fight. Had we the temples of Tahutmes III. or Ramessu II. preserved as completely, they would

doubtless excel this work; but it is the only instance which shows what was the entire design of a great memorial temple of a conquering king. The whole building is about 500 feet long, and 160 feet wide.

The large amount of quarrying at Silsileh led to several rock tablets being engraved there, and some graffiti. Some others at Aswan and Semneh belong to southern expeditions.

Of small monuments and objects there are but few, and those not of any historic value. The papyri, however, fill a greater place in this reign than in any other; they have been noticed in their historical connection.

Of the royal family one queen is undoubted, Astamasereth (L.D. iii. 207 g); apparently an Egyptian name Isis, with a Syrian name Amasereth. She appears on a statue of the king. It seems probable that she is the queen Ast (L.D. iii. 224 a), who is in tomb X. of the Queens' Tombs, as a great royal mother in the time of Ramessu VI.; and she is also named on a stele of Amenemapt in Berlin (Cat. p. 134, 3422). Another royal mother in the same period is Humazery (L.D.T. ii. 101). As so many sons of this king succeeded to the throne, there is no difficulty about there being two royal mothers.

The series of the sons began with Pa-ra-her-amif, who appears as eldest son behind the king in the tomb of an unnamed queen, No. XI. He must have died before his father, perhaps at about 20, or rather later; and so is placed in the great list at Medinet Habu after the sons who succeeded to the throne.

The second son, Mentu-her-khepshef, succeeded to the position of "heir and chief royal son"; but he too died before the king, and his tomb was hardly begun, only a large passage and the doorway of a hall was cut, and all the inscriptions are merely painted and not sculptured. Evidently he expected to succeed as king, and had begun his tomb among those of the kings; as he died so soon, the small portion yet cut was merely painted over, and his burial took place. The tomb is

published in M.A.F. iii. 164, pls. lxix.–lxxiv.; L.D. iii. 217 a–d; L.D.T. ii. 220; the portrait in L.D. iii. 216. The heart scarab has been found and is in Berlin.

The third son succeeded his father as Ramessu IV., and also six other sons in quick succession, until the last died at over 80, and the high priests of Amen took the titular power, as well as the authority which they had so long exercised.

The officials of whom there are remains are as follow:—

Ahory, general, stele. C. Mus.

Bakenkhonsu (see under officials of Ramessu II.), lived to Ramessu III., from his statue found at the temple of Mut, see B.G.M. He was under R. II. at the age of 86, and therefore born 1320 B.C. or earlier; and he must have been at least 118 at the accession of R. III. (D.M. i. 289).

Hora-em-heb, architrave. C. Mus.

Khonsu, a *sedem*. Aswan (M.I. i. 95, 150 *bis*).

Merybast, priest, also under Setnekht (L.D. iii. 237 a, b).

Pa-hon-neter, keeper of horses, lintel. C. Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 160).

Pedubast, high priest of Memphis (B.T. 908).

Rameses-nekhtu, high priest of Amen, R. III. to R. IX. (Ms. M. 667); at Karnak (L.D. iii. 237 a, b) same?; squatting statue, Berl. Mus. (Berl. Cat. 139, 2277; Lb. D. 987); stone block, Turin (95); dovetail with branded name, P. Mus. (M.S.S. xi. 8, No. 489); on statue, Karnak (Rec. xxvii. 71).

Setau, tomb, El Kab (C.N. i. 270, 653; Br. Rec. ii. 72, 2; Ms. M. 667).

Siast, group, Abydos (M.A. 76; M.A. i. pl. 14).

Taa, vizier; Karnak, temple of Amenhotep III. (Rec. xiii. 173), at El Kab (B.T. 1129).

Thy, scribe of offerings, Heliopolis (Rec. xxv. 35).

Userhati, chief corn gauger, tomb, Drah abul Negga (N. Pin. 6; same? P.N.B. 70).

A large number of other officials are recorded in the papyri named above; but they have not left any monuments.

XX. 2.

HEQ·MAAT·RA (USER·MAAT·RA) } SOTEP·EN·AMEN  1171–1165 B.C.

RA·MESSU (IV.), MAA·MAAT·MERY·AMEN 

(All the later Ramesside cartouches are very variable.)

Coffin and lid, tomb of Amenhotep II. C. Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 425).
Tomb, No. 2, in valley of Kings' Tombs (M.A.F. iii. pt. 2; C.N. i. 473, 813; C.M. 275, 6; N.L.S. xxxiv.–xlix.; A.Z. x. 60; L.D. iii. 222 g, h; B.T. 173–4, 412).

Sarabit el Khadem	Stele, armlets, wands, etc.	(W.R.S. 119–123, 140).
Tell el Yehudiyeh	Name on stone	(A. Mus., No. 43).
Memphis	Temple of Ptah, over R. III.	(P.O.N. 272; B. Rec. i. pl. iv. 2).
Gizeh	Column	(A.Z. xix. 116).
Turrah	Quarries	(W.G. 512).
Abydos	Northern temple of Osiris	(Ab. ii. 19, pl. lviii. A).
,,	Stele, yr. IV.	(M.A. ii. 34–5, No. 1171; R.A. 155; R.E. 156; Rev. A.; N.S. xix. 273).
,,	Stele	(M.A. ii. 54–6, No. 1172; A.Z. xxii. 37, xxiii. 13).
,,	Kneeling figure	(Ab. ii. xxxv. 7).
,,	Door of Sety	(M.A. i. pl. iv. d).
Koptos	Stele	(Rec. xi. 92).
Hammamat	Steles	(L.D. iii. 219e; B.H. ii. 168; L.D. iii. 222 i, 223 c).
Karnak	Hypostyle hall, scenes	(L.D. iii. 220–2 a).
,,	Sandstone statue	(A.S. v. 36, pl. vi.).
,,	Statuette	(Rec. xxvii. 71).
,,	Usurped over R. II.	(L.D. iii. 143 a).
,,	Usurped Tahutmes I., obelisk	(C.M. 312–3).
,,	Usurped Sety II., S. of sanctuary	(C.N. ii. 171).

Karnak	Usurped R. III. in N.-E. of temenos	(W.G. 513).
,,	Usurped Amenhotep III. in his temple	(W.G. 513).
,,	Usurped pylon IX.	(L.D. iii. 219 a).
,,	Small building S.-E. of temple	(B.E. 255).
,,	Khonsu temple, sanctuary	(L.D. 219 b, 222 b–e, g).
Ramesseum	On pillar, second hall	(L.D. iii. 219 c).
Medinet Habu	Front	(D.M.H. 63, 73).

Statues, fragment. Berl.
ushabtis. C. Mus., P. Mus. (M.A. 409; M.A. ii. lx.c, d; Rec. iv. 107; P.L. 209).

Portraits (L.D. iii. 299, 70; C.M. 306).

Granite pillar usurped. Avignon.
Statuette of Horus, carnelian. Stroganoff.
Wooden door, Turin, usurped. (L.T. 1464; Rec. ii. 181).

Two Sekhet statues. Turin (L.T. 250, 251).
Lintel of house as prince. Florence (S. cat. F. 1602).
Alabaster vase, fragment (B. Mus. 2880).
Scarabs, many.
Ostraka. Cairo Mus. (Dy. O. p. 109; for 25186 read 25297).

Papyri, plan of tomb (L.A. 22; Lepsius ground plan, Grabes R. iv.; A.Z. xxii. 1).
,, moving statues of king (P.P.T. 80).
,, officials of right side. Medinet Habu (P.P.T. 66).
,, restoration of statue, etc., R. II. (P.P.T. 47).
,, fragments (P.P.T. p. 82).

Dated remains, etc.—

YEAR		
I. Thoth 15	Coronation	(Rec. ii. 117).
II. Paophi 12	Stele, Hammamat	(L.D. iii. 223 c).
Hathor 28–9	Papyrus, revenue	(P.P.T. 67; Ms. M. 663).
,,	Grain accounts	(P.P.T. 70).
III. Pauni 1	Stele, Hammamat	(L.D. 222 i).
,, 27	,, ,,	(L.D. 219 e).
Epiphi	Stele, Koptos	(Rec. xi. 92).
,,	Papyrus Mallet, accounts, from R. III.	(Rec. i. 48).
,,	Papyrus, grain accounts	(P.P.T. 71).

YEAR			
IV.	Thoth 15	Coronation anniversary	(Rec. ii. 116).
	Hathor 10	Abydos stele	(M.A. ii. 34–5; R.E. 156).
	,,	Papyrus Mallet, accounts	(Rec. i. 49).
	,,	Papyrus, grain accounts	(P.P.T. 71).
V.	,,	,, ,, ,,	(P.P.T. 71).
VI.	,,	,, ,, ,,	(P.P.T. 71).

The Harris papyrus we have already noted as being apparently the pleading of Ramessu III. before the judgment of Osiris; and the only meaning of the date of it, Epiphi 6, would be the day of his death. The coronation of Ramessu IV. was on Thoth 15; but this was not four years before the death of his father, as has been supposed, because there are monuments dated in his second year. The ostrakon of coronation in the IVth year can only be for the anniversary. From Epiphi 6 to Thoth 15 is 73 days; and this just allows of the period of 70 or 72 of the mourning during the embalming of Ramessu III.

One monument of the princedom of Ramessu IV. remains, apparently a lintel of a doorway in his palace, presented by his father. (S. cat. F. 1602; no reason appears for referring it to a tomb, and no prince Ramessu died in the reign of R. III.).

The monuments of the reign are very few, apart from usurpations. The area cleared out on the north of the Osiris temple at Abydos, in preparation for a large temple, must have been of this time, as the foundation deposits are of R. IV. (not of R. III. as at first read); but whether he actually built there is not proved. The stele of year IV. is an address to Osiris, which has value as praying for a reign as long as the 67 years of Ramessu II. (line 23). The other stele of Abydos is an address to various gods, but not of historical importance.

The steles of Hammamat are valuable; that of the IInd year refers to the Retennu and Amu bringing tribute, pointing to some control of Syria. The long stele of the IIIrd year records the sending of an expedition to the quarries, making a road, and a site

for a temple, under the high priest of Amen and chief architect Ramessu-nekhtu ; 170 officials, 5000 soldiers, 200 fishermen (to procure food in the Red Sea), 800 Bedawin, 2000 civil service men, 50 police, artist, 3 architects, 130 masons, 2 draftsmen, 4 sculptors. Out of the total of 8368 men, 900 died in the journey. Ten carts, each drawn by 6 yoke of oxen, formed the baggage train.

At Karnak there is only the decoration of the temple of Khonsu, built by his father ; all the other inscriptions there being added to those of earlier kings. No trace of this reign is known south of Thebes.

The tomb of the king is No. 2 in the valley of Biban el Meluk. It has been well published by Lefebure with bibliography (M.A.F. iii. 2e fasc.). It consists of three long passages, a sarcophagus chamber, and four small chambers. The inscriptions are from the Litany of the Sun, Book of Am Duat, 2nd and 9th chaps.; Book of Caverns ; Book of the Dead, 123–127 chaps. ; Book of Gates, 1–4. The granite sarcophagus is finely carved, and had on the lid a figure of the king between Isis and Nebhat. There are no objects of daily life, as in the tomb of R. III., or historical materials.



FIG. 69.—Scarab of Ramessu IV. F.P. Coll.

The only minor objects of importance are the papyri. The plan of the tomb has the dimensions in cubits marked upon it, which have been compared with the actual size (A.Z. xxii. 1). The papyrus about moving the statues mentions that a year was allowed for the work ; the supply of corn for the men was arranged ; a causeway of 730 cubits long and 55 wide had to be prepared, sloping up 60 cubits to the top ; 120 *rokata*, some of 30 cubits × 7, were prepared of brushwood and beams ; these seem named from Semitic *rqå* to spread out, *rqq* to be thin, and therefore timber and brushwood facings to hold up the earthworks at a steep angle. The papyrus about the officials of Medinet Habu shows that (like the royal guards and boatmen) they were divided into two halves, right

and left. The papyrus P.P.T. 46 refers to offerings ordained for Ramessu II., and decoration of uraei on a cornice, and flowers (lotus ?) in a border, of a shrine.

The reign extended to the VIth year, the last probably a full year, as in an account the same amount of 700 sacks of grain is reckoned in this as in other years (P.P.T. 71).

The officials of the reign are—

Amenhotep, divine father (Dy. O. 25129).

Anhurkhaui, tomb with large family of officials (L.D.T. ii. 292).

Hora, scribe, stele, B. Mus. 588 (Lb. D. 988; B.B.M. 13).

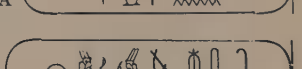
NEFER-RENPIT, vizier (Dy. O. 25033, 36).

Pentaurt, scribe (Dy. O. 25033, 189).

RAMESES-NEKHTU, high priest of Amen, chief architect Hammamat (L.D. iii. 219 e).

Lists of officials are given in the Hammamat stele (B.H. ii. 168), and for Medinet Habu in P.P.T. 66.

XX. 3. USER·MAAT·RA, SKHEPER·EN·RA  1165–1161 B.C.

RAMESSU, AMEN·KHEPSHEF·MERY·AMEN (V.) 

Tomb 9 in valley of Kings' Tombs. Entrance (L.D. iii. 223 a).
Mummy and coffin, tomb of Amenhotep II. C. Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 438).

Sarabit, bangle.
Medinet Habu, on temenos wall. ? R. VI. (My. E. 466).
West Silsileh, stele (L.D. iii. 223 b; B.H. ii. 171).
Konosso, stele. ? R. VI. (Br. R. 272).

Portrait (L.D. iii. 299, 71).
Obelisk. Bologna (Ital. Phot. 289–90).
Stele of Uaemuas. Liverpool (G.L. 155).

Ostraka. C. Mus. (Dy. O. 25189 *bis*, 25254).
Ostrakon. Turin. (Rec. ii. 117).
Papyrus. Turin. (P.P.T. 71).
Ushabtis. B. Mus. 8696–9.
Scarabs, plaques, pendants. 7 in F.P. Coll. 1 in E. Coll.

Dated objects—
Year I. Grain account, papyrus. Turin (P.P.T. 71).
II. " " " " (").
Paophi I. ostrakon. C. Mus. (Dy. O. 25254).
III. Grain account, papyrus. Turin (P.P.T. 71).
IV. Tybi 25, ostrakon. Turin (Rec. ii. 117).

There has been much confusion owing to Ramessu VI. having been ranked as V.; hence no printed statements without the cartouches are certain. The reign was probably of only four years, as we have documents of each of those years, and no more.

The stele of Silsileh is the only serious monument of the reign, and that contains nothing but boastful phrases. One expression, however, is of value, that he gave dues to the gods "as a good son does for his father." This is, perhaps, an allusion to his being a son of Ramessu IV.; afterwards the brothers of R. IV. were set up one after the other. The immediate cause of this succession may have been his youth, as he was probably hardly twenty when he died, and therefore did not leave any available heir.



FIG. 70.—Obelisk of Ramessu V. Bologna.

The tomb No. 9 was begun in the second year, as the ostrakon (see above) states that the king went to the west bank of Thebes to the tomb site, the door

of which was to be begun next day. This tomb had not been carried far at his death, when his uncle appropriated it and continued the work. The small limestone obelisk at Bologna is an unusual object.



FIG. 71. — Scarabs of Ramessu V. and VI. F.P. Coll.

No royal family and no private monuments of this reign are known.

XX. 4. MAAT·NEB·RA, MERY·AMEN



1161–1156 B.C.

RA·MESSU, AMEN·HER·KHEPSHEF NETER·HEQ·AN (VI.)



Tomb 9 in valley of Kings' Tombs (M.A.F. iii. 48–80, xxiv.–liv.; L.D. iii. 224 b–228; L.D.T. ii. 201).
Lid of coffin in tomb of Amenhotep II. C. Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 439).

Sarabit el Khadem	Door jamb and pillars	(W.R.S. 124, 125).
Benha	Slab	(N.B. 46).
Bubastis	Seated figure, black granite	(N.B. 46, xxxviii.).
,,	Limestone statue base. C. Mus.	(N.B. 46, xxxviii.).
,,	Granite statue. C. Mus.	(N.B. 46, xvi.).
Memphis	Apis burial	(M.S. Ms. 146).
Koptos	Stele of queen and daughter. Manchester	(P. Kop. xix.).
Karnak	Funeral temple by Rameses-nekhtu	(M.K. 39; Ms. M. 668).
,,	On cols. of hypostyle hall	(B.E. 251).
,,	On pylon IX.	(B.E. 258).
,,	Two statuettes	(Rec. xxvii. 71).
,,	Altering R. IV. on obelisk of Tahutmes I.	(C.M. 312–3).
Ramesseum	On pillar	(L.D. 219 c).
,,	Over Ramessu IV.	(L.D.T. ii. 132).
Deir Bakhit	Inscription	(L.D.T. ii. 101).
Medinet Habu	Over name of R. IV.	(D.M.H. 52).
Redesieh	Graffito	(L.D.T. iv. 75).
Sehel	Stele of Duamen	(M.I. i. 93, 132).
Anibe	Tomb of Pennut	(L.D. iii. 229–32; B.H. ii. 174).

Shabtis, 8 in B. Mus. (8699. . ., 29998–9), 3 Liverpool (G.L. 225), 1 Turin (Phot. 323).
Wooden stamp, Turin (Phot. 292).
Glazed vase, Apis burial. P. Mus. (M.S. 22, 3).
Leather brace end. Leyden. (L. Mon. ii. xxix. 6).
Papyrus, hymn (P.P.T. 31–3).
Scarabs. 4 F.P. Coll.; 2 P. Mus.; Turin; C. Mus. (N.Y. xvi.).

Queen—NUBKHESDEB—
Koptos, stele. C. Mus. (P. Kop. xix.).
Daughter—Ast (L.D.T. iii. 101).
Koptos, stele. C. Mus. ,,
Nehesi, vizier, Deir el Bakhit (L.D.T. iii. 101).
Pennut and a long family, Anibe (L.D. iii. 229–232).

There is not a single dated monument of this reign; and no building, but only steles, statues, and small objects to preserve the name. The tomb was appropriated from Ramessu V., who had begun to carve it; it consists of a passage in three divisions, two successive halls, two more lengths of passage, and then two more halls, the last of which held the burial. It is fully inscribed, and bears the whole of the Book of Hades and of the Book of Duat, the Destruction of Mankind, part of the Book of Caverns, and chaps. 125–7 of the Book of the Dead. A full bibliography is in M.A.F. iii. 48–80. The burial was in a hollow cut in the floor of the hall, and covered with a rough mass of rock.



FIG. 72.—Ramessu VI.; Bubastis. Cairo Museum.

At Deir el Bakhit, on the hill of Qurneh, is a mutilated inscription of this king (L.D.T. iii. 101) naming a royal mother Humazery, but her position is uncertain; she might have been the mother of either Ramessu IV. or V. Probably queen Ast (L.D. iii. 224 a) was the

mother of Ramessu VI., as his daughter was named Ast.

The tomb of Pennut and his family at Anibe (misnamed "Poeri" in My. E. 540), mentions also a queen Nefert-tera, to whom land belonged at Ibrim (L.D. iii. 229); but there is nothing to show whose queen she was. The specification of the estates devoted to the service of a statue of the king there is a very curious document, with details of the boundaries (B.H. ii. 174). The whole tomb is important for its scenes of mourning, and in the fields of the Aalu and the judgment.



FIG. 73.—Stele of Ast, high priestess; Koptos. Cairo Museum.

The minor objects are of no historic value; the ushabtis are very rude figures of alabaster, almost formless, but roughly painted with black and green.

The great historical fact of the reign is shown by the stele of Koptos (P. Kop. xix.). It refers to the princess Ast (Isis), who was the daughter of the king (yet living), and of queen Nubkhesdeb, already deceased. The princess was married to the High priest of Amen, being named the "Divine wife of Amen, the Adoress of the god." This is the first appearance of a title which became so familiar during some centuries onward, and it clears up the rise of the priest kings. So far

the succession had been normal, Setnekht, Ramessu III., R. IV., R. V. had all succeeded as father and son. The early death of R. V. had caused him to be succeeded by his uncle, R. VI. Nothing unusual occurred so far; but when the daughter, who wore the uraeus and was the heiress of the kingdom, was married to the high priest, the priestly line became the rightful rulers. Not daring to take the kingdom at once, they maintained the long series of the sons of Ramessu III. in power, one after the other, while the real rule belonged to the priestly family. Thus, so far from the priests being mere usurpers, they were tolerating a series of royal princes; while they were ready to step into their rights so soon as the sons of the dynastic founder had passed away.

Turning now to the family of the high priests, Rameses-nekhtu was acting under R. III. (tomb of Setau, Ms. M. 667); his son Amenhotep was acting in the Xth year of R. X. (Ms. M. 661); his son Herhor began between the Ist and VIth years of R. XI. (Ms. M. 662). Stating these in years, we have

Early in Rameses-nekhtu,	1171 B.C.
During Amenhotep,	1142
Beginning of Herhor,	1134–28

from which we may roughly state the priesthood as being—

Rameses-nekhtu,	1180–1155
Amenhotep,	1155–1130
Herhor,	1130–1100.

Now the birth of Ramessu VI. (horoscope) was in 1198 B.C.

His daughter Ast was probably born	1176
and would be married at about	1160–1156.

These dates cannot come lower, as she was already married during his lifetime (Koptos stele), and he died in 1156; nor can the ages allow more than two or three years' variation earlier. She is not likely to have been married to Rameses-nekhtu, as he was probably 50 or 60 years old at the time. His son Amenhotep, however, was probably between 30 and 40, and so quite

likely to marry the heiress. This would bring, then, the beginning of his high priesthood a few years earlier than the presumptive dates sketched above. It cannot have been Herhor whom she married, as he was not high priest till much later. The inheritance of the priest-kings then was—

1210? Rameses-nekhtu 1160 — 1198 Ramessu VI. 1156

1190 Amenhotep 1130, married in 1160 — 1176 Ast.

1155 Herhor 1105; married Nezemt.

XX. 5. USER·RA, MERY·AMEN, SOTEP·EN·RA RA·MESES, AT·AMEN, NETER·HEQ·AN (VII.)



1156–1155? B.C.

Tomb I. in valley of Kings' Tombs (L.D. iii. 233; L.D.T. ii. 194; C.N. 442–6, 803–6; M.A.F. iii. 1–7).

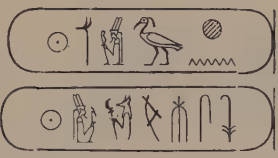
Heliopolis	Pieces of stele, on building	(Rec. xxv. 36).
Memphis	Architraves and monolith columns	(M.S. Ms. 147).
,,	Apis burial	(M.S. Ms. 146).
Karnak	On stone of Shabataka	(L.D. v. 4 a).
,,	Usurps R. IV. on pylon IX.	(L.D. iii. 219 a).
Ramesseum	Graffito	(L.D. iii. 219 c; L.D.T. ii. 132).

Altars of R. II. usurped. P. Mus.	(R.M.L. p. 210, D 61; L.A. xiv.).
,, ,, Marseille	(Ms. C.M. 5).
Pedestal of statuette. P. Mus. 3817.	
Papyrus, hymn to king. Turin	(P.P.T. 123).
,, fragment, Manduit Coll., Nantes	(W.G. 517).
Portrait	(L.D. iii. 300, 73; C.M. 269).

The tomb consists of only one length of passage, a chamber for the burial, and a small chamber beyond. It is inscribed with the beginnings of the Book of Hades and Book of Caverns. One scene is well published in L.D. iii. 233. The mummy is not known.

The mention of great architraves and monolith columns 40 feet high, at Memphis, found in 1853, seems probably to refer to some usurpations of this king on work of a far grander age. Of the Apis burial there are no details. The remaining works and objects are all unimportant. As no dates exist in this reign, we have taken a year for it as a probable allowance.

XX. 6. USER·MAAT·RA, AKHENAMEN RA·MESSU, SET·HER·KHOPSHEF (VIII.)



1155–1154 B.C.

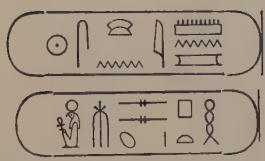
In list of sons of Ramessu III. with cartouches (L.D. iii. 214).
Scarabs. 2 F.P. Coll., Fraser Coll.
Stele of Hora. Berlin 2081 (Berl. Cat. p. 133).

The existence of this king would be doubted were it not that he appears in the contemporary series at Medinet Habu. The stele of Hora, an official of Busiris, is the only monument of the reign beside three scarabs.



FIG. 74.—Scarabs of Ramessu VIII. and IX. F.P. Coll.

XX. 7. SKHA·EN·RA, MERY·AMEN RA·MESSU, SIPTAH (IX.)



1154–1153 B.C.

Glazed vase, Serapeum. P. Mus. (Ms. M. 657; M.S. Ms. 147; M.S. 22; P.L. p. 91, 375.
Carnelian scarab. F.P. Coll.

This king is only known by a vase and a scarab. The vase was found with another of Ramessu X. in an Apis burial of that reign; and this king is therefore

supposed to be next before R. X. There is no such name in the list of sons of Ramessu III. But at this point there is a son Mery-atmu; and a block with that name is said to have been seen at Heliopolis, but it has never been published (B. Rs. 51). Possibly Siptah was another name of prince Mery-atmu.

XX. 8. NEFER·KA·RA, SOTEP·EN·RA RAMESSU, KHA·EM·UAS, MERER·AMEN (X.)



1153–1134 B.C.

Tomb 6 in valley of Kings' Tombs (L.D. iii. 228 *bis*, 234; L.D.T. iii. 198; M.A.F. iii. 16–30, iv.–xxiii.; C.M. 269, 270; C.N. i. 465, 811; T.S.B.A. iii. 400; B.E. 265).

Alexandria	Statue fragment	(A.S. v. 117).
Memphis	Serapeum, Apis III.	(M.S. 22, 4, 5).
Fayum	Tomb of Hora, priest of Sebek. C. Mus.	(Rec. xiv. 28).
Karnak	Dedication by high priest Amenhotep, E. wall Pylon VII. to VIII.	(L.D. 237 d, e; M.K. 40; R.E. 199–201; Ms. M. 657, 661–2).
,,	S. door, great hall	(C.N. ii. 125–7).
,,	E. wall from pylon VII.—temple	(C.N. ii. 193).
,,	Graffito, outer wall of temple	(W.G. 519).
Deir el Bahri	Casket of ivory, bronze, and sycomore; C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 434; Ms. M. 584).
Slab. B. Mus.		(Y.L. xi. 32).
Ushabtis. B. Mus. 8570–1.		
Obelisk of Ramessu I. usurped. Copenhagen		(S.M.C. 19).
Altars of Ramessu II. usurped. P. Mus.		(L.A. xiv.).
,, ,, ,, Marseille		(Ms. C.M. 5).
Inscription of Ramessu IV. usurped. Avignon		(W.G. 520).
Wooden plaque. P. Mus.; S. Hist. 456		(W.G. 519).
Dad, Serapeum. P. Mus.; S. Hist. 639		(P.L. 639).
Vases, ,, ,, ,, 376, 380		(M.S. Ms. 147; P.L. 376).
Part of inscribed box. Meux Coll.		
Ring, Carnelian eye. F.P. Coll.		
Scarabs. B. Mus.; F.S.; G. Coll.; U.C. Coll.		

Portrait. L.D. iii. 234 a, 300, 74; on papyrus, C.N. ii. 718.

Papyri—

Abbott, tomb robberies, XVI. yr.	(S. Pap. ii. i.–viii.; R.P. xii. 101).
,, docket, XIX. yr. = 1 yr.	(Ms. E, 4, 5, 58, 59).
Amherst, tomb robberies, XVI. yr.	(Am. P. 23).
,, copy of Harrs, B. Mus. Thefts	(Am. P. 29).
Mayer, A, witnesses of robbery (Sety I. and R. II.), yr. I.	(A.Z. xi. 39, xii. 61).
,, B, quarrel of thieves	(A.Z. xi. 40, xii. 62).
B. Mus. Receipts of gold, I.–XVII. yr.	(S. Pap. ii. 7).
Turin, fishers' accounts, yr. XIX., yr. I.	(Ms. M. 658).
,, list of oils	(P.P.T. 48).
Berlin VI., hymn to sun	(L.D. vi. 117; C.C.T. 29).
Ostrakon, sketch for wall scene. B.M. 5620	(B.I.H.D. 1).
Ostrakon, yr. X. (Dy. O. 25199); others, C. Mus.	(Dy. O. 25021, 185, 201).
Ostrakon, plan of tomb. C. Mus.	(Rev. A. xxxii. 235; Dy. O. 25184).
Amenhotep, high priest, statue	(Rec. xxvii. 71).

The tutelage of this prince was confided to the son of the high priest of Amen, Amenhotep, who (as we have already seen) became high priest himself not later than 1156 B.C. (M.K. 40, line 1). We have already noted that the prince was born about 1190, or very likely as late as 1180 B.C. Now Amenhotep was high priest at about 1160–1130; and was probably born between 1198 and 1185 B.C. He might well, therefore, be about ten years older than the prince. The position then was that Amenhotep, son of the high priest, at about 20, in 1170 B.C., was entrusted with educating the young prince, then perhaps rather over 10 years old; at 30 or 35 he succeeded to the priesthood, and married the prince's niece, the daughter of Ramessu VI.; and then at about 50 he carved long inscriptions on the temple walls about his works, beginning by stating that he was the king's tutor, though he might have added that he was his heir as well, by the royal marriage. In fact, the series of later Ramessides were the pupils of the court tutor, who had become high priest, and who, having married the heiress, the daughter of his own contemporary, then set up the

young men, who had been accustomed to obey him, as a mere cover for his power.

The high priest, in the Xth year of the reign, was placed in independent control of all the endowments of Amen, at a special court held in the temple on the 19th day of Hathor, the gods Mentu and Amen-ra, and the king, being named as formal witnesses. All the taxes and usufruct of the endowments, the full revenues, the collection of the amounts, the administration of treasures and granaries of Amen were all placed entirely in the hands of the high priest (R.E. 201 ; B.H. ii. 179). Further, Amenhotep states that the temple, founded by Usertesen I., was decaying ; that he restored it, strengthened the walls and columns, set up new doors ; built a new palace for the high priest, decorated with golden tablets ; built a stone forecourt by the southern temple lake, with doors of acacia wood ; and he also built a new treasury of stone (B.H. ii. 180 ; M.K. 40).



FIG. 75.—*Dad* amulet of Ramessu X. ; Serapeum. M.S. 22.

This increase of priestly rule was accompanied by the decay of administration ; just as the growth of the papal power was marked by the inability to keep order in Italy. The robberies of the royal tombs caused a commission of inquiry to be appointed, though before such a pass was reached the private tombs of the wealthy ages had been already pillaged. Of this commission several documents have fortunately been

preserved. The main inquiry was on the 18th to 21st Hathor, year XVI. (Abbott); part of another roll of the same inquiry on the 19th day, but in a different hand, also remains (Amherst). On the 5th of Tybi in year XVII. a long list of 85 thieves and receivers of stolen property from the tombs was drawn up; this was probably about six weeks after the inquiry, or perhaps a year more elapsed. Then three years later further inquiries took place about robberies in the tombs of Sety I. and Ramessu II. (Mayer, A); and a quarrel of the thieves is reported (Mayer, B). The documents of the earlier inquiry were taken in hand, and sent up with a list of the thieves, dated in the Ist year, which is stated to be also the XIXth (Abbott). This may be a co-regency; or as the new reign is put first, it may be merely a carrying on of the old reckoning to continue from that of the previous documents, which accompanied it. After that there is a list of documents about the robbery in the next reign (A.Z. xiv. 1), and the dockets on the mummies of the kings show how often they were inspected and moved for safety.

We will now note some of the details of these inquiries. On Hathor 18 the great officials of the cemetery were assembled to investigate the thefts, which had been reported to the nomarch and magistrates by the police of the necropolis. The tomb of Amenhotep I., 120 cubits long, had been reported as robbed, but was found intact. The monument of Antef, north of the temple of Amenhotep, was injured, but the tomb was intact. (This stele, "with the greyhound named Behhuka," was found at Drah abul Negga, and is now in Cairo.) The monument of Nubkheper-ra Antuf was pierced from the tomb of Auri, which was in ruins; but the thieves had not been able to plunder it. The monument of Sekhem·em·up·maat Antufaa was attacked, but yet unplundered. The monument of Ra-Sekhem-shedet-taui Sebek·em·sauf had been forced from the tomb of Nebamen, and the bodies of the king and Nubkhaas the queen were

plundered. The monuments of Raseqenen Ta-aa, Raseqenen Ta-aa-aa, Ra·uaz·kheper Kames, Aahmes Sipaar, and Neb-kheper-ra Mentuhotep, were all intact. Only one of ten was violated; and two tombs of queens were intact and two violated. But all of the private tombs of the chanters were ransacked (Abbott).

On the 19th the tombs of the royal families were to be examined. A man who had been arrested as being near the tombs, when a search was made in the year XIV., confessed to plundering the tomb of Aset, wife of Ramessu III.; but the tomb proved intact (Abbott). The same day the man who had plundered the tomb of Nubkhaas was examined, and described the plunder, and the division of the things in eight parts between the thieves; also how they set fire to the mummies after plundering them (Amherst).

The evening of the same day three men were condemned for giving false witness.

On the 20th Hathor the chief of police complained that he overheard the governor of the town joking with the men, and boasting that he had five informations which would bring them all into trouble; yet he never reported any of them, and was evidently hushing up the case.

On the 21st the witnesses were brought up about this matter. But the Nomarch states that he had found the reports of robbery to be false, and therefore the governor had been falsely stating that he had evidence, in order to blackmail the people. Here the Abbott papyrus ends. It reads exactly like a case in Egypt to-day, where the one object is bakhshish; and if there were no evil-doers to give bribes to be let off, false accusations were sprung on other men, so as to extort something even from the innocent.

About six weeks later, or perhaps after a year more, a long list was drawn up of 85 persons who had shared in plundering the necropolis in general. The values stated are mostly in fives and tens, evidently approximate; but the totals mount up to a value of 850 deben, or about 170 lb. weight of copper, which was the

standard of value. The further inquiries, three years later (Mayer, A B), about the tombs of Sety I. and Ramessu II. are unfortunately not fully published; but the endorsement of the previous inquiry (Abbott) shows that the documents were kept in hand till then, and a complete list of the thieves was drawn up.

Beyond this inquiry we know nothing more of the history of this reign; evidently the king died in his XIXth year, between Khoiak 27 and some time in the next month Tybi, in which begins the reckoning by year 1 of the next king.

The recorded dates in this reign are—

YEAR		
I.	Mekhir 16	Beginning of gold accounts (S. Pap. ii. p. 7).
II.	Mesore 15	B.M. pap. 13, transport of gold and silver (S. Pap. ii. p. 7).
III.		Serapeum (M.S. Ms. 152).
IV.		Tomb of Setau, El Kab (L.D. iii. 236 b).
X.	Hathor 19	Karnak decree (L.D. iii. 237 d e). Ostrakon (Dy. O. 25199).
XIV.		Search in tombs (Abbott pap. iv.; R.P. xii. 109).
XVI.	Hathor 19–21	Inquiry about tombs (Abbott pap.; S. Pap. ii. i.–viii.).
XVII.	Tybi 5	List of thieves (Amherst pap. p. 29).
XVII.	Mekhir 11	End of gold accounts (S. Pap. ii. p. 7).
XIX.	Hathor 9, Khoiak 24, 27, yr 1 Tybi.	Fisher's account (Ms. M. 658).
XIX.	= 1 yr.	Endorsement of Abbott pap. (Ms. E. 4, 5, 58, 59).

The tomb, No. 6, has two small chambers at either hand on entering, then three lengths of passages, two large halls, another passage, and, lastly, the burial chamber. Much of the inscription is only drawn and not carved; and parts of it vary in cursiveness down

to complete hieratic. The texts are of the Litany of the Sun, the Book of the Dead, chaps. 123, 125, 126, 130; Am Duat, parts 1, 2, 3. It contains the earliest instance of the ages of man; not the seven of later ideas, but five—the infant, youth, young man, senior, and decrepit.



FIG. 76.—Door of tomb of Ramessu X.

The monuments of this reign are hardly more than usurpations, and need no notice beyond the list above. Beside the historic papyri already described, there are a few others yet unpublished, and of which, therefore, the historic value is not known.

The private persons named are very numerous in the papyri; but those of whom remains exist are but four.

Aimadua, chief scribe of the temple of Amen: fine tomb with delicate sculptures of sacred bark, king offering, figures of 11 earlier kings, etc. (L.D. iii. 235–6; C.N. 258, 859).

Hora, chief priest of Sebek Shedti, lintel and jamb. C. Mus.

Pasar, mayor of Thebes, Shabti. Amherst Coll. (S.B.A. xxii. 64).



FIG. 77.—Ring of Ramessu X. and Scarab of R. XI. F.P. Coll.

Setau, priest of Nekhen, in tomb at El Kab. He officiated under Ramessu III., and continued till the IVth year of R. X.; somewhat over 22 years, an indication of the shorter chronology here followed; as, according to Ms. M. 664–5, the full activity of this priest would have extended over 56 years.

XX. 9.
KHEPER·MAAT·RA,
SOTEP·EN·RA
RA·MESSU,
AMEN·HER·KHEPSHEF
MERY·AMEN
(XI.)



1134–1129 B.C.

FIG. 78.—Ostrakon of Ramessu XI.

Tomb No. 18 in valley of Kings' Tombs (C.N. i. 441, 803; M.A.F. iii. 161; L.D. iii. 239 b; C.M. 271; Ms. M. 658).

Papyri, yr. I., Mayer, A.	(A.Z. xi. 39, xii. 61).
Yr. I. Mekhir? 8; Abbott, docket	(Ms. E. 4, 5, 58, 59).
,, III. On reverse of R. X. papyrus, Turin	(Ms. M. 659–60).
,, VI. Vienna, list of documents about the necropolis robberies	(A.Z. xiv. 1).
Turin, figure (perhaps of R. II.)	(P.P.T. lxx.).
,, praise of the king	(P.P.T. lxv. 83).
Ostrakon. B. Mus. cartouches	(B.I.H.D. ii.-iii.).
,, C. Mus.	(Dy. O. 25186, 190–3, 210).
Scarabs. F.P. Coll.; F.S.; Turin?	

The tomb is unfinished, only two lengths of passage having been cut, and no chamber. It has been stuccoed, but is now nearly all bare rock; the scene over the door was the main piece of work (C.M. 271), but it is now mostly destroyed.

The papyri show that the inquiries about the plundering of the royal tombs and the necropolis continued until year VI. There is no ground for the Turin

papyrus of year VIII. belonging to this king. His position in the dynasty has been considered at the beginning of the dynasty.

XX. 10. MEN·MAAT·RA, SOTEP·EN·NEIT  1129–1102 B.C.

RAMESES, KHA·EM·UAST, MERER·AMEN, NETER·HEQ·AN (XII.) 

Mummy at Deir el Bahri	C. Mus.	(Ms. M. 568).
Tomb 4 in valley of Kings' Tombs		(M.A.F. iii. 12; L.D. iii. 239a; L.D.T. iii. 197).

Memphis, usurped columns		(P.P.T. 86).
Serapeum, 5 Apis burials		(M.S. 16).
Abydos stele of Ta·mer·pena·s	C. Mus.	(M.A. ii. 62, p. 55).
,, earrings from burial	C. Mus.	(M.A. ii. 40, p. 29).
Karnak, on temple of Khonsu		(L.D. iii. 238; C.M. 308, 5; A.Z. xxi. 76).
,, on temple of Amenhotep III.		(Rec. xiii. 172).
Leather, two pieces	P. Mus.	(P.L. p. 109).
Scarab?	formerly P. Mus.	(C.M.C. x. p. 61, 143).

Dated objects—

Yr. XII. Hathor 26, pap. wheat receipt	Turin,	(P.P.T. 87).
,, XVII. Khoiak 25, pap. Panehsi, prince	Turin,	(P.P.T. 89).
,, XXVIII. Mesore 8, Abydos stele of Ta·mer·pena·s		(M.A. ii. 62, p. 55).

Private monuments—

Duduamen, scribe's palette	P. Mus.	(P.L. p. 159, 641).
Herhor, high priest of Amen		(A.Z. xxi. 76).
UNNEFER, vizier		(Rec. xiii. 173).
Lintel of an official	Marseille	Ms. C.M. 44).

The tomb has been planned of large size, with two lengths of passage and three halls; but it is nearly all left blank, and only some red and yellow painted

scenes and inscriptions have been drawn near the entrance. The mummy was found in a coffin of Nesikhonsu; it had been rewrapped in year VII., probably under Menkheperra. At the Serapeum, five Apis burials are attributed by Mariette to this reign; but he does not give the least trace of his authority for declaring this. The whole treatment of the Serapeum remains has been most scandalously bad; we only have a great mass of statements, without definite documents for more than a small portion of them; and those documents have never been published as a whole, and many have irrevocably crumbled to dust in Paris. Practically the greater part of the value of the discoveries has been thrown away by neglect of accurate record and publication.

The stele from Abydos records the offering by Ta·mer·pena·s to Osiris, god of birth, for her son Neterkha. Two earrings of monstrous size were found in a coffin in the temenos at Abydos.

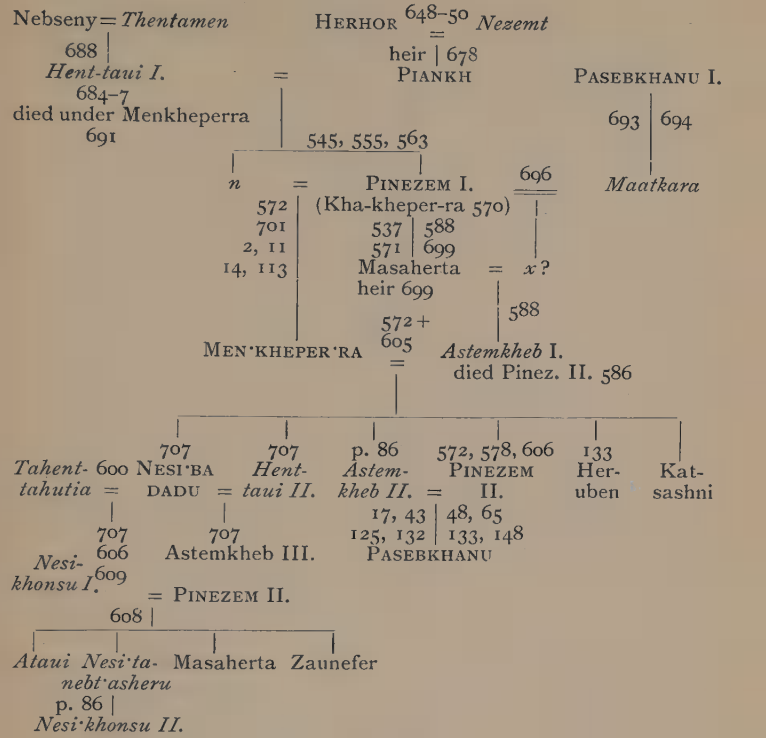
The scenes on the temple of Khonsu at Karnak show the high priest Herhor acting for the king, and shortly after acting himself as king. His rise we shall notice in the next reign.

The viceroy of Kush was named Panehsi, "the negro"; he gave receipts for wheat in the XIIth year, and was written to about public works and searching for gems in the XVIIth year.

There is no more to be said about this reign than about the other obscure reigns before it. The kings and public affairs seem mute and insignificant; only their heirs, the high priests of Amen who kept them in tutelage, seem to have been of any importance. So ended the rule of the Ramessides after 226 years; though the prolific family left descendants, proud of their ancestry two centuries later, when a "son of Rameses" was a title of honour.

TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY

We here reach the most complex period of Egyptian history, where two dynasties went on contemporaneously, the XXIst of Tanis and the XXIst of Thebes. The large mass of minute facts from which the history has to be built up, makes lengthy statements necessary before any certain conclusions can be reached. Broadly, there are two main sources, the Deir el Bahri remains (in Ms. M.), and the mummy wrappings of the priests' tombs (see Daressy, *Rev. Arch.* xxviii. 75). Where reference numbers for statements are given in the genealogy less than 200, they refer to the number of the mummy in *Rev. Arch.*; numbers over 500 refer to the pages of Ms. *Momies de Deir el Bahri.* The subject has been greatly complicated by each writer framing a scheme of conclusions in which the certain facts are mingled with probable or possible conclusions, and hence nothing can be taken as proved without entire rebuilding from the single documents. We therefore begin here by stating all the proved facts alone; and after that form a scheme which can be revised whenever more facts are found. The royal family appear to be related as follow, with the references stated, which prove the position here given to each person.



Some points are not directly defined; Pinezem II. often calls himself royal son of Pasebkhanu (81, 85, 113, 119, 120, 121, 127, 152), yet he was son of Menkheperra and Astemkheb (572+605). The title, royal son of a king, does not mean the next generation, but only descent; as in the title, royal son of Ramessu, usual in the XXIInd dynasty. Hence Pinezem was descended of Pasebkhanu, and that was probably through Astemkheb, as seen above (see Ms. M. 710). Hent-taui has been commonly supposed to be the wife of Pinezem, but there is no proof of that beyond

appearing on his monuments ; and as in one case (Rec. xix. 20) she is shown on a lintel receiving homage from him, this would show that she was his mother, a position which no monument contradicts. Indeed this explains the scene at Luqsor, where there are placed with Pinezem (1) Maat·ka·ra his wife, (2) Hent-taui his mother, (3) Nezemt his grandmother, who need not have been over 60 years of age at the time. He also adores her after her death (Rec. xiv. 32). The mother of Menkheperra is unknown ; but either he or his wife must have been born of Maatkara, as we notice just above. It is not absolutely defined whose wife Maat-ka-ra was when she "came south," and had her marriage settlement engraved at Karnak ; but as she appears with Pinezem I. as a royal wife, and so cannot be wife of Masaherta, nor (by her age) the wife of Piankh, it seems that she was the wife of Pinezem. The last Pasebkhanu was son of Pinezem II., as on the same mummy naming him (No. 133) is linen made by a daughter of Astemkheb, and by king Siamen, which would not agree to Pinezem I. The burial in Deir el Bahri is of Pinezem II., not I., as the officials are the same who buried Nesikhonsu, wife of Pinezem II. (Ms. M. 521–2). Pinezem II. must have married Astemkheb II. ; for his son Pasebkhanu was *not* a son of Nesikhonsu, and was too old to be a son of Astemkheb III. Nor is there any direct evidence for Menkheperra being son of Hent-taui; but his daughter is named Hent-taui. Astemkheb I. died under Pinezem II.; for her father is called *makheru* on her tent, she is named with Men·kheper·ra on the bricks at El Heybeh, and the reigning king when she died was a Pinezem. Daressy, however, divides these evidences between two Astemkhebs, relying on a difference of titles. If so, the parentage of the wife of Menkheperra is unknown.

The next question is that of the many datings of years associated with these kings. Lepsius, and Maspero at first, thought they were the years of the high priests. Then Maspero supposed them to be the years of the Tanite kings, because Pinezem II. had his burial dated in

year XVI., and if this was of the priesthood it would be the 1st year of his successor ; also because the formula never is year *of* a high priest, but is found as year *of* a Tanite king. The first reason is not convincing, as at the funeral the dating might well go on by habit on the old reign until the affairs of the new king were dealt with. The second reason is reversed by fresh examples (*Rev. Arch.* xxviii. 77–78), where there are "year 48 *of* the high priest" (No. 105) and "year 8 king Siamen" (134). On looking over all the datings there are—

1 with a year *of* a Theban (105).
2 with a year *of* a Tanite (133, 553).
2 with a year and a Tanite (134, 557).
1 with a year and a Theban (534).
3 with a Tanite, and a year after (38, 134, p. 78).
Many with a Theban and a year after.

It seems impossible to frame from these varieties any law which shall fix the meaning of a date where it is not specified. The obvious sense at first sight is that the year refers to the Theban reign unless the Tanite is mentioned. To make a history of independence and dependence of Thebes out of the fluctuations of the style of dating seems to build far too much upon variations. For the present I see no use in building upon these datings except where the year of a ruler is precisely stated ; though I should rather expect the undefined years to belong sometimes to the Theban rulers with whose names the dating is associated. There is in one case a strong presumption that a bandage with a Tanite name, and a date after it, is dated in the Theban reign. One bandage (105) is clearly 48th year *of* Menkheperra, a very unusually long reign. It is very unlikely that his contemporary Amenemapt would also have a very long reign, and he is only stated at 9 years in Manetho. But a bandage (*Rev. Arch.* p. 78) is dated "Amenemapt, year 49," which seems as if the suzerainty was acknowledged, but the years were of the high priest. As there are over forty datings, hardly

any of which lead to conclusions, we shall not repeat them all; they are summarised in Ms. M. 724–5, in which make correction in Note 4 that the moving of Sety was under Pinezem II., as the officials are the same who buried that king; in Note 6, xvii. should be xv., and so corrected on p. 56 e; and in Note 12 omit the first reference, and transfer the second to Note 13. Other datings are in *Rev. Arch.* xxviii. 77–78. Any of historical use at present are quoted further on.

The most definite dating is in the XXIst dynasty of Tanis, as recorded by Manetho. His list shows few variations in the versions, and only seems to need emendation at one point.

Monuments.	Manetho.			Adopt B.C.
				1102
Nesi·ba·dadu	Smendes	26	26	
				1076
Pa·seb·khanu (I.)	Psousennes	41	41	
				1035
. . .	Neferkheres	4	4	
				1031
Amenemapt	Amenenofthis	9	9	
				1022
Siamen	Osokhor	6	26	
				996
. . .	Psinnakhes	9	9	
				987
Pasebkhanu (II.)	Psousennes	35	35	
				952

It is probable that something has dropped from this list, as the interval between the close of the Ramessides and the earliest possible date for Sheshenq I. (by connection with the Jewish-Assyrian chronicles) is 150 years, instead of 130 years, the total of Manetho. Where the 20 years has been lost is indicated by having dates of Siamen up to year XVII., showing that he reigned more than the 6 years of Osokhor, or 9 years of Psinnakhes.

Now there are a few equations between these kings and the high priests.

	Tanite.	Theban.
Mummy 130	Amenemapt	with Nesibanebdadu.
708, 38, 81, 85, 813, 121, 130, 152	Amenemapt	with Pinezem II.
133, 134	Siamen VIIth–VIIIth yr.	with ,,
Rec. xxii. 61	Siamen XIVth yr.	with ,,
Ms. M. 522	Siamen? XVIth yr.	death of ,,
133	Siamen VIIIth yr.	with Pasebkhanu.

But bandages were sometimes rather old when used, as a single body has bands of Vth to XIth years of Sheshenq (573). Lastly, Menkheperra reigned 48 or 49 years (105, and p. 78, *Rev. Arch.*), and died under Amenemapt (*Rev. Arch.* p. 78).

Turning now to the high priests, the genealogy fills the available time very closely. Starting from the horoscope date of Ramessu VI., and taking the male generations at 22 and female at 20 years, there is the continuous series of generations—

Ramessu VI. born	1198 B.C.	
Ast	1176 (married 1160–1156).	
Herhor	1156	
Piankh	1134	
Pinezem I.	1112	
Masaharta	1090	Menkheperra b. 1086?
Astemkheb I.	1068	
Pinezem II.	1046	
(Astemkheb II.	1044)	
Pasebkhanu	1024	

As the burial of Pinezem II. was in the XVIth year of Siamen, 1006 B.C., therefore Pasebkhanu of Thebes was 18 at his accession, and was superseded by Sheshenq at 72 years of age. This connection with Siamen prevents any serious lengthening of the generations, and the age of 72 years equally prevents shortening of the generations. So no great variation is possible either way. Taking the correlations with the Tanite line, we can then combine the genealogy with the history as follows, showing what is the earliest and the latest date possible. The fairly certain dates are given here, and those filled in by general considerations are placed in parentheses.

Born.		Earliest Dates.		Latest Dates.	
		succ.	died.	succ.	died.
1185	Amenhotep	1165	1134	1156	1128
1156	Herhor	1134	1096	1128	(1086)
1134	Piankh	0	...	0	...
1112	Pinezem I.	1096	(1080)	(1086)	(1074)
1086	Menkheperra	(1080)	(1031)	(1074)	(1025)
1048	Nesibanebdadu	0	...	0	...
1046	Pinezem II.	(1031)	1006	(1025)	1006
1024	Pasebkhanu	1006	952	1006	952

Herhor began to act between the Ist and VIth year of Ramessu XI., and he reached the VIth year of his own reign. Pinezem II. died in the XVIth year of Siamen. Menkheperra reigned 49 years, and he died under Amenemapt. And the beginning of Pinezem II. cannot be put after 1025, as there are no less than seven instances of his name with that of Amenemapt, who died in 1022. These are the fixed data used above.

The test of all this is to see what ages work out for accession and death. These result as follows :—

	Accession.	Death.
Amenhotep	20–29	51–57
Herhor	22–28	60–70
Piankh	...	under 38–48
Pinezem I.	16–26	32–38
Menkheperra	6–12	55–61
Nesibanebdadu	...	under 17–23
Pinezem II.	15–21	40
Pasebkhanu	18	72

These figures are nearly all of them quite possible. But as Nesibanebdadu had two wives and two children, the latest date of his death is the only likely one in that case ; and the latest date of accession would fit to Menkheperra more probably. Therefore we must adopt the latest series of dates ; and know that, as far as we can rely on our data, there is not likely to be more than two or three years of uncertainty.

There is, however, a strain in joining the genealogy of Maat·ka·ra. As being the grandmother of Astemkheb I., who was born at 1068, her birth could not be put later than 1104, and therefore her father's birth

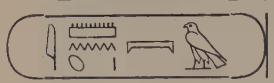
would be at 1126. This would imply that he was 50 at accession and 91 at death, which is unlikely, though possible. That she was wife of Pinezem, and not of Masaharta, is shown by the scene at Luqsor, where Pinezem is associated with his grandmother Nezemt, his mother Hent·taui, and (presumably, therefore) his wife Maat·kara (Rec. xiv. 32).

It does not seem at all safe to attempt, with our present knowledge, to build up a more definite scheme. So far, we have shown that we may accept Manetho (with one emendation), and all the data of family genealogy and equations of reigns, without a single difficulty; and that the results leave an uncertainty of about two or three years in the Theban line. More data that may be discovered can be adjusted within these limits, without the uncertainty of how much is fact and how much guesswork in our statements.

XXI. 1.

NETER·HON·TEP·EN·AMEN 

about 1102–1086 B.C.

AMEN·SI·, HER·HOR 

Mummy and coffin	Deir el Bahri	(Ms. M. 569).
Karnak	Temple of Khonsu	(L.D. iii. 243–48).
,,	On a restored wall	(W.G. 530).
,,	On sphinx of Sety II.	(A.Z. xxiii. 82).
Deir el Bahri	Moving of Sety I. and Ramessu II.	(Ms. M. 553, 557).
Stele with Nezemt	Leyden	(Lb. D. 991).
Papyrus of Unuamen, Vth year		(Rec. xxi. 74).
Papyrus (see below).		
Queen—NEZEMT, Temple of Khonsu		(L.D. iii. 247).
Coffin and shroud		(Ms. Q.G. 425, 432).
Sons—Temple of Khonsu		(L.D. iii. 247).

Piankhy, Pa·ra·amen·en·amen, Pa·nefer . . ., Mert·tef·amen, Amen·her·unamif, Tekhuy, Masaharta, Masaqaharta, Pa·shed·khonsu, Amenra . . . hershef, ... em kheb, . . . t . . ., Bak·hor·neteri, . . . anm, . . mmsunai, Ruda·ament, Nesi·pa·kher·her?, Madenneb.

As we have already noticed, under the reign of Ramessu VI. his daughter was married to Amenhotep, father of Herhor, not long before 1156, and Herhor was probably her son, and so born about 1160–1155. He therefore would be of royal descent, and thus have a legitimate right to the titles of "Heir over both lands, great companion in the whole land" (L.D. iii. 247 d), and the "Hereditary prince" (L.D. iii. 222 f), which he uses during the reign of Ramessu XII. After that he appears as enjoying full sovereign rights and titles as completely as any other king of Egypt (L.D. iii. 243–44). He is shown as seated between the goddesses of south and north, Nekheb and Uazet, and with Horus and Set offering him the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt (L.D. iii. 246 b). The fullest rights were therefore claimed by him.



FIG. 79.—Herhor, head, from temple of Khonsu. L.D. iii. 300.

His wife Nezemt has been supposed to be his mother; but as she appears heading the long family of "kings' sons," who must have been sons and not brothers of Herhor, she must be his wife. Also she appears as the equal of Herhor on the Leyden stele (A.Z. xxiii. 82; Lb. D. 991).

The military power was also united to the priestly, even during the end of the Ramessides, as Herhor was the "commander-in-chief of the south and north," and *hauti*, which Maspero renders "chief of the mercenaries" (L.D. iii. 247 d). In turn his son Piankh was "general, viceroy of Kush, keeper of the southern deserts, chief of the mercenaries, head of the archers"

(M.A. ii. 57; *n* is perhaps in error for *her* in the last title). The Retennu of Syria are claimed as being tributary (L.D. iii. 243 a, l. 2), which points to Herhor having complete command of the eastern frontier.

That there was an amicable condominium between Herhor as full king and Nesibanebdadu, prince of Tanis and ruler in the Delta, is shown by the papyrus of Unuamen (Rec. xxi. 74). His journey in Palestine was for his master Herhor; but he goes to Tanis and gives his credentials to Nesibanebdadu, who sends him on with a boat and men. On a robbery taking place, he states that the property belongs to Amen Ra, to Nesibanebdadu, to Herhor, and to various Egyptian and Syrian chiefs. Afterwards Nesibanebdadu sent presents to the king of Dor. Neither ruler has a cartouche or any royal titles given him; and it seems as if the Tanite was only acting as a local prince under the orders of the Theban ruler.

This papyrus gives so interesting a picture of the life of that time that it must be summarised here, though the whole is too long to be quoted. Unu-amen was sent in the Vth year of Herhor to bring wood for the boat of Amen, leaving Thebes on Epiphi 16 (April 6). He applied to Nesibanebdadu and Tent-amen, whose name always appears, and who was probably an heiress of the royal line through whom her husband enjoyed rights. They gave him a boat and sailors, and he started on the Mediterranean on Mesore 1 (April 20). He came to Dir, a town of Zakar, and Badir the chief gave provisions. One of the boatmen ran away, taking about £60 in gold and £12 in silver, a much larger value in exchange at that time. The chief repudiated all responsibility if the thief belonged to the boat, but acknowledged it if from the country. Here is a long gap, and it seems that Unuamen had been trying to get cedars without being formally authorised by the chief. After waiting for 5 months (till 23rd Sept.), at a sacrifice the chief was making, one of the youths became possessed, and danced, saying that some one would lead away the envoy. The same

night Unuamen found a ship going to Egypt, and tried to slip on board in the dark, tired of having wasted the whole summer waiting to catch the thief. The guards said that he must stay and go to the chief. Unuamen retorted that they were continually urging him to depart. The chief was told, and stopped the ship. Next morning Unuamen was led up to the king in his castle by the sea; he was on his throne, with the back to the window, while the waves of the great sea broke behind him, a sound and air which struck the Theban strangely. Then said *Unuamen*, "The grace of Amen to you." *Chief.* "How long is it since you came from the habitation of Amen?" *Un.* "Five months and a day." *Ch.* "If you are right, where are the letters of the requests of Amen in your hands, where is the letter of the first prophet of Amen, which ought to be in your possession?" *Un.* "I gave them to Nesibanebdadu and Tent-amen." The chief was much annoyed and worried by this (fearing to displease the Tanite), and said, "But if you have not brought the requests and the letter, where is your Egyptian boat from Nesibanebdadu, where are his Syrian sailors? Did he not tell the captain then that they should kill you and throw you in the sea? For if they desert the god, where are you; or if they desert you, where are you?" *Un.* "It was not an Egyptian boat, but the sailors of Nesibanebdadu are Egyptian; he did not give me Syrians." *Ch.* "Are there not twenty boats from Nesibanebdadu on my coasts? And as to this other, the Sidonian who you have addressed, are there not many boats of Uar-kat-al bringing goods to my house?" (The affairs of the rulers whose protection you claim are well known here, and you are not in their charge.) Unuamen felt caught, and bigger grew the chief's speech: "What business have you coming here?" *Un.* "I came for wood for the beautiful boat of Amen-Ra, king of the gods. Do also as thy father did, and the father of thy father." *Ch.* "Whatever they really did, and you want me to do, I will do. But if my people supply the wood, Pharaoh—life, wealth, and health to him—

must send six boats of Egyptian goods to be sold at their agencies. You must go and bring what is due." Then the journals of the chief's ancestors were brought and read to Unuamen, and 1000 deben (£400) of silver were recorded. *Ch.* "If the prince of Egypt were master and I was servant, he would not send silver or gold for the business of Amen, and he would not have sent presents to my father. But I am what I am. I am not the servant of you or of him who sent you. But I must say this annoys me,—that the beams of fine tall cedars should lie abandoned on the shore. So I will agree to give you the sails which you brought to sail the rafts of beams, and give the cordage . . . the trees which I have cut, to help you. But I will rig the sails of your ships so that the rigging shall be heavy, and that thus they might break and you might perish in the midst of the sea. Then, if Amen keeps his word in heaven, and chains Sutekh (storms) in his hour, (then I shall know if) Amen really is active in all lands, and that he possesses and ought to possess Egypt where you come from, and that the perfection of thought reaches from Egypt to where I am, and that the orders should reach to the place where I am, and why some one has sent you on this cadging voyage." *Un.* "Not so, this is not a cadging voyage, shame on those around who say so. There is not a ship on the sea which does not belong to Amen; the sea is his and the cedars also, of which you say they are mine. He makes a place to grow (the wood) for the bark Amen, and for every ship. Truly it is Amen himself, king of the gods, who ordered Herhor my master that he should send me, and he has made me come for this great god. But see now you have made the great god wait 29 days moored on your shore, while you do not consider that he neither attends nor cares to attend about your selling these cedars, for Amen is lord himself. As to what you say about the former kings having sent silver and gold, if such gave life and health they would not have parted with them, but your fathers sought life and health by sending (the cedars). As to Amen-Ra,

king of the gods, himself he is lord of life and health, and he himself is lord of thy ancestors who have passed their life in making offerings to Amen. And you, in your condition, are a servant of Amen. If you say, 'Do it, do it for Amen,' and you put things in train, you shall live long in health and safety, and it shall be well with your land and your people. But covet not what belongs to Amen-Ra, king of the gods! Assuredly the lion loves his own! Let my scribe come, and I will send him to Nesibanebdadu and to Tent-Amen, the adorers ('earth-smellers') whom Amen has put in the north of his land, that they may send all that I want when I say, 'Send what I will,' before I go south, in order to be able to send you all that you yet need." So the chief gave Unuamen's letter to his messenger, who took with it planks and beams, and went to Egypt. He returned to Syria in Tybi (end of September) with 4 vases and a basin of gold, 7 vases of silver, and much leather and stuffs and dried fish. So the chief gave Unuamen 300 men and 300 oxen to bring down trees all the autumn, and in Epiphi (early April) they were brought to the shore ready. The chief then went to the shore and graciously made over the cedars to Unuamen. Then Unuamen suddenly found eleven ships of Zakar (? Zakro in Crete), which said that he was caught, and should not be let go. He sat down and wept; and the chief's secretary came and said, "What is the matter?" *Un.* "Don't you see these sea-fowl who twice over have swept down upon Egypt. Look at them! They lie here as they please, and when will they go! As for me, I am abandoned. Don't you see them come to take me prisoner again?" The scribe told the king, who wept at such sad news; but who sent the scribe again with two jars of wine and sheep, along with an Egyptian singing girl, Tent-nut, to cheer him. Next morning the chief called together his people, and standing amid them said to the strangers, "Oh, Zakru, what have you come here for?" They said, "We have come after the ships which you sent to Egypt, for we are the guardians of

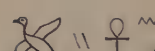
the helpless!" The chief replied, "I cannot imprison the messenger of Amen in my land. Let me send him, and you may follow him to take him."

Unuamen was then cast by the wind on the coast of Alasya (North Syria or Cyprus?), and the people seized him to kill him, and dragged him along to see Hataba, the female chief of the town. She was moving from one house to another. He begged to know if anyone understood Egyptian; and one said that he did. Unuamen said, "Tell my queen that all the way from here to Egypt I have heard that if all others are liars, at least they are true in Alasya. Now is falsehood even done here always?" The queen said, "What is he saying?" *Un.* "The sea was wild and the wind blew me up on to your land. Do not let them kill me. I am a messenger of Amen, but see now there is always some one after me. As to the sailors of the chief of Kapuna (Byblos), who tried to murder him, he could not find the ten sailors who were here, or he would certainly have killed them." So the queen told him to rest, and after a while he went to Tyre; and then went to Zakar-baal, king of Kapuna, but was chased from there. Unhappily the end of the papyrus is much broken and curtailed; but the spirited view of life in Syria, and the relations with Egypt, give great value to this report, which may perhaps be a novel rather than a history. The delightful irony of the piratical Cretans saying they were "the guardians of the helpless" is quite in keeping with the picturesque dash of the story.

The only dated records of this reign are the inscriptions on the mummies of Sety I. and Ramessu II., in the VIth year Paophi 7, and Phamenoth 15, recording the renewing of the wrappings. After reading the account of Unuamen, to suppose that these dates, written at Thebes, refer to the reign of the prince of Tanis, seems quite improbable. We can but refer them to years of the reign of Herhor, 1096 B.C.

Of the royal family a full record appears in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. First is the Queen

Nezemt, then the eldest son Piankh, who died before succeeding, and then 18 other sons and 19 daughters; their names are already given in the above list, and we notice the later family name Masa·harta, and the variation on it, Masa·qaharta, which shows how it is compounded. The papyrus of the Book of the Dead for Nezemt was found at Deir el Bahri, and divided so that parts are now in B. Mus. (S.B.A. v. 79), in the Louvre (P.R. ii. 131), and the Murch Collection (W. G. 531). Her double coffins and mummy from Deir el Bahri are in Cairo. They are finely wrought, gilded, and richly inlaid with stones and pastes (P. Ins. i. 66 G). The outer wrappings of the body had scenes drawn on them; within were fragments of toilet objects of ivory and wood, and a beautiful *menat* pendant; none of these are published (Ms. M. 570; xix. a). A glazed bead with her name is at Berlin (Berl. Cat. 12766). The wrappings of the mummies of Sety I. and Ramessu II. were renewed by Herhor in the VIth year (Ms. M. 553, 557).

XXI. 2. NETER·HON·TEP·EN·AMEN PIANKH 

Abydos (Cairo)	Stele	(Ms. G. 47; M.A. 382; M.A. ii. 57).
Karnak	Eldest son in list	(L.D. iii. 247).
Queen—HENT·TAUI—		
Mummy	Deir el Bahri	(Ms. M. 576).
Two coffins	Deir el Bahri (Cairo)	(Ms. M. 576).
Medinet Habu	Lintel	(Rec. xix. 20).
Karnak	Pylon of Khonsu	(L.D. iii. 250 c).
,,	on back of Sekhet statues	(L.D. iii. 249 f).
Book of Dead	Deir el Bahri (Cairo)	(M.P.B. iii. 12—; Ms. M. 688).
Ushabtis	Deir el Bahri	(Fig. 84).
Portrait		(C.M. 280).
Sons—Pinezem, Haqnofer, Haqaa, Ankh-efmut.	Luqsor.	(Rec. xiv. 32).

This prince, though he inherited the high priesthood, does not seem to have ruled independently. It

is supposed that Herhor left Thebes to consolidate his power in the north, and appointed his eldest son as high priest to rule in the south. Only a single monument of him is known, a stele, on which he is called the royal fanbearer, scribe, general, prince of Kush, chief of the southern lands, high priest of Amen, chief of the granaries, and chief of the archers. The title prince of Kush shows that he was not independent at

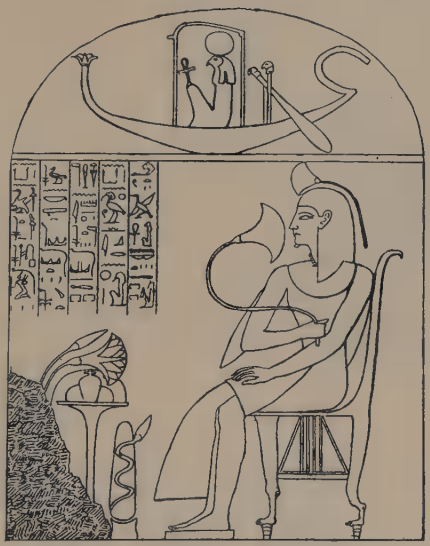


FIG. 80.—Stele of Piankh; Abydos. Cairo Museum.

that time, and there is no proof that he survived his father. A correspondence about rations of the Mashawasha guards, addressed to a scribe Zaroaay, is attributed by Spiegelberg to this reign, the high priest having a name ending in *ankh* and titles agreeing to those of Piankh (S.C.R.P. 13–18, name on p. 10).

The queen Hent·taui has been hitherto supposed to have been a wife of Pinezem, because she appears with

him. But as he in one case does homage to her, she is rather his mother (Rec. xix. 20); and this accords with her position between his wife Maat·ka·ra and his grandmother Nezemt (Rec. xiv. 32). She must have been mother of a wife of Pinezem, as she is called "mother of the great royal wife." Her ushabtis are also in colour and clearness finer than those of Pinezem, or any later ones in this decaying series. By the genealogy she would have been about 58 at the accession of Menkheperra, and so might well have died in his reign (Ms. M. 691). In her papyrus she is stated to be the daughter of the doctor Nebseny and the royal female Thentamen.



FIG. 81.—Hent·taui, from her funeral papyrus. Cairo Museum.

A queen of this name was the wife of Nesibanebdadu at Tanis at about 1097 B.C.; and this might well be her second marriage, as Hent·taui was born about 1132 B.C. That, though called "king's daughter," Hent·taui was not the immediate daughter of a king is hinted on her coffin, where she is "king's daughter's daughter" (Ms. M. 576). The Book of the Dead of Nebseny—probably her father—is published (M.P.B. iii.); and that for Tauhert, daughter of a Thentamen,—possibly her sister,—is also known (Leyden Pap. T. 3). The father of Thentamen must have been born about 1175 or earlier. This excludes Herhor, born about 1166, but would quite agree with Ramessu XII., born about 1186, as he might well have been 27 and she 24 at the birth of their children. It is probable, therefore, that Thentamen was a younger daughter of Ramessu XII. or one of his near brothers.

The mummy of Hent·taui is well preserved, and the face carefully prepared to imitate the living appearance (Ms. M. xx. A). The bandages bear the name of her grandson Menkheperra, showing that she must have been over 58 at death. The mummy was in two coffins,

both inscribed with name and titles (Ms. M. 576). Her ushabti box (Ms. M. xxi. C.), ushabtis, and Book of the Dead were all in the Deir el Bahri burial.

Her figure at Karnak (L.D. iii. 250 c) has not the uraei which Maat·ka·ra has; probably because she could not be regarded as the heiress of the kingdom, as the real heiress of the Ramessides was Ast, mother of Herhor. She inscribed one of the Sekhet statues in the reign of her son.



Fig. 82.—Mummy of Hent·taui I. Ms. M. xx. A.

The sons are named in a joint dedication to Piankh at Luqsor.

XXI. 3. Kheper·kha·ra Sotep·en·amen  about 1086–1074 B.C.

Mery·amen Pinezem (I.) 

Mummy, coffin	Deir el Bahri (Cairo)	(Ms. M. 570; Ms. Q.G. 433–7).
Abydos	Altar	(F.P. Coll.).
Karnak	Kriosphinx inscription	(Rec. xiv. 30).
,,	Sekhet dedication	(B.G.M. 370).
,,	Khonsu pylon	(L.D. iii. 248, 249, 251).
,,	Chapel of Osiris	(Rec. xxiv. 210).
Luqsor	Dedication to his father	(Rec. xiv. 32).
Medinet Habu	Temple of Tahutmes III.	(L.D. iii. 250 a, 251 f g).
Sehel	Rock inscription	(M.D. 73, 73).

Kneeling figure, sandstone. C. Mus.		
Renewing mummies of XVIIIth–XIXth dyn.		(Ms. M. 534, 537, 538, 541, 545, 555, 560, 563, 564).
Bandages, etc., of priests of Amen		(Rev. Arch. xxviii. 75, Nos. 17, 43, 48, 65, 125, 132, 133, 148).
Gold bracelets. C. Mus.		(Ms. Q.G. 520).
Leather tabs—Two in Turin		(A.Z. xx. 110).
Six in Paris		(P.M.S.H. 450–2, 456).
Ushabtis and Book of Dead	Deir el Bahri	(Ms. M. 570, 591; Fig. 84).
Queen—MAAT·KA·RA MUT·EM·HAT.		
Mummy	Deir el Bahri	(Ms. M. 577).
Karnak	Pylon of Khonsu	(L.D. iii. 248 g, 250 b).
Luqsor	Court	(Rec. xiv. 32).
Coffins		(Ms. M. 577; P. Ins. 164–6, 75, 76).
Ushabti box	Deir el Bahri (Cairo)	(Ms. M. xxi. D).
Ushabtis and Book of Dead	Deir el Bahri (Cairo)	(Ms. M. 577, 590; Fig. 84).
Base of statue	Marseille	(Rec. xiii. 148).
Portrait		(C.M. 280).
Sons—Painezem		(Ms. M. 537).
Masaharta		(Ms. M. 699).
Menkheperra		(Ms. M. 572, 701).

This ruler seems to have acceded at an early age, as his queen is inserted as a subsequent alteration on his scene at Karnak; and this would agree with the family history already worked out, by which he would have ruled at 18 or a few years older. This also explains the importance of his mother Hent·taui in the sculptures.

That the Thebans continued to hold Abydos is shown by an altar with the royal titles, and *si ra*, *neb khau*, *iri akhet*, *Amenmery Pinezem*, *du ankh senb ma ra*, for Isis of Abydos, Fig. 83 (F.P. Coll.).

At Karnak there is a scene on the temple of Khonsu of offerings to the Theban triad, before his marriage (L.D. iii. 250 a), with Maat·ka·ra, inserted later; also inscriptions on the pylon, recording making monuments to Khonsu and a great pylon (L.D. iii. 251 a–c) and restorations (248 h, i, 249 c–e); also over the door

of a chamber in the chapel of Osiris there are cartouches (Rec. xxiv. 210). At Luqsor is a dedication by the king and his brothers to the memory of their father (Rec. xiv. 32), the only place in which the brothers are named. At Medinet Habu he placed inscriptions on the temple of Tahutmes III., one while he was vizier, his father Piankh being *maat kheru*, probably deceased (L.D. iii. 251 d–g); this suggests that Piankh died some time before Herhor, so that Pinezem held the south before his sole rule. At Sehel a rock inscription of Pinezem has the titles of high priest, and great general



FIG. 83.—Altar of Pinezem I. F.P. Coll.

of the south and north (M.D. pl. 73, No. 73). A kneeling figure of the king in sandstone was dedicated in the festival of Ptah Sokar (C. Mus.).

An important work of this time was the renewing and preservation of the mummies of the earlier kings and princes. Inscriptions on the bodies of Aahmes I. (Ms. M. 534), Siamen (538), Sitkames (541), Amenhotep I. (537), Tahutmes II. (545), Sety I. (555), Ramessu II. (563), and Ramessu III. (564), are at dates between the VIth and XIIIth year. The princes and Aahmes I. were moved, but the others seem to have still been kept in their tombs. Several bandages

and straps on the mummies of the priests of Amen are also dated to this reign (Rev. Arch. xxviii. 75). Some similar straps or tabs of leather are at Turin and Paris.

The mummy of the king was found at Deir el Bahri, in the damaged coffin of Tahutmes I. It had been pillaged, but the Book of the Dead was still between the legs. The king seems to have been a small, thin



FIG. 84.—Shabtis of Hent·taui I., Pinezem I., and Maat·ka·ra. F.P. Coll.

man. Two boxes of ushabtis were found, the figures being of bright blue glaze with black inscriptions.

The queen Maat·ka·ra Mut·em·hat is expressly stated to have come southward to her marriage, and to have been the daughter of king Pasebkhanu of Tanis, in the marriage settlement engraved at Karnak (Ms. M. 694). The scenes in which her figure has been added (L.D. iii. 250 a), or designed with the king (L.D. 248 g, 250 b),

or placed with other queens (Rec. xiv. 30, 32), have been already noticed. An important piece is the base of a statuette (6 by 4 in.) dedicated by her high steward Horhotep (Marseille Mus. Ms. Cat. M. 232; Rec. xiii. 148). That she was the heiress of the kingdom, through some Ramesside descent of the Tanites, is shown by the double uraeus on her head, the title "great heiress," and by her having a double cartouche, a throne name and a personal name.

Her mummy was found at Deir el Bahri in good condition (Ms. M. xix. B, 577). With it was the mummy of an infant, at whose birth she had died. It cannot have been her firstborn, as either Menkheperra or Astemkheb was her child, because Pinezem II. boasts his descent from Pasebkhanu, her father. The inner coffin was injured, but the outer one is perfect, and is one of the finest in the whole series. The inscriptions are published by Piehl (P. Ins. i. 64–6, 75, 76).



FIG. 85.—Maatkara, coffin head. Cairo Museum.

There appears to have been an eldest son Pinezem, who died early, and is once named (Ms. M. 537).

Masaharta, the son of Pinezem, died before his father, but was acting officially as high priest of Amen. He appears in an adoration of Amen on the outside of the small temple of Amenhotep II. at Karnak (A.Z. xx. 133). A colossal hawk bears his titles and name (Bruxelles, A.Z. xx. 134; P.S.B.A. xi. 257). The prince is named as renewing the mummy of Amenhotep I. under his father Pinezem in the XVIth year (Ms. M. 536).

The mummy of Masaharta had been despoiled, but the coffin still retains the titles and name (Ms. M. 571). He is generally entitled son of Pinezem; and, on the funereal tent of Astemkheb, Pinezem (II.) appears as king, and Masaharta repeatedly as high priest deceased (*maat-kheru*), implying that Astemkheb was the daughter of Masaharta. His shroud is at Cairo (Ms. Q.G. 434).

XXI. 4. MEN·KHEPER·RA  about 1074–1025 B.C.

El Heybeh	Walls	(L.D. iii. 251 h, i; Pr. M. xxiii. 4–11).
Karnak	Block	(Rec. xxii. 53).
,,	On column of Khonsu	(C.N. ii. 225).
,,	Walls	(L.D. iii. 251 k).
Luqsor	Walls	(Rev. Arch. xxviii. 86).
Thebes	Stele	(B.R.I. xxii.; B.H. ii. 194).
Gebeleyn	Walls	(P.S.B.A. xv. 498).
Bigeh	Rock, titles and figure	(C.N. i. 161).

Bandages and removal of mummies (see below).
Leather tab P. Mus. (P.S. H. 456).
Libation vase (B. Mus. 25, 565).
Scarab with Astemkheb. Wiedemann Coll. (W.G. 538).

Queen—
ASTEMKHEB I.
Tent (Cairo) (Ms. M. 585).
Bricks (L.D. iii. 2, 51 h, i).
Mummy and coffins (Cairo) (Ms. M. 577).
Ushabtis. Common. (Fig. 86).
Book of Dead (Ms. M. 577).
Sons—Nesibanebdadu, high priest (Ms. M. 707).
Pisebkhanu ,, (R.M.A. xxxi. xxxiv.).
Pinezem II. ,, (Ms. M. 572, 578, 605).
Daughters—Hent·taui II. (Ms. M. 707).
Astemkheb II. (?) (Rev. Arch. xxviii. 86).
Her·uben (Rev. Arch. No. 133).
,, coffin, mummy, etc. (Ms. Q.G. 235, 306).
Katsashni coffin, tablet, etc. (Ms. Q.G. 235, 292, 306).

It appears that there was a division of the Theban rule at the beginning of this reign: on bricks at

Karnak, Menkheperra appears alone (L.D. iii. 251 k); while on bricks at El Heybeh, Astemkheb appears alone as the representative of her deceased father Pinezem I. (L.D. iii. 251 h). Hence it seems that the queen was at El Heybeh on the death of Pinezem I., and continued to rule by his authority, before she was united to the king who was already reigning at Thebes. Neither of these separate rules can have been after the death of the other ruler, as Astemkheb survived into the reign of her son.

There are but few remains during this long reign of 48 years, which is guaranteed by a bandage dated in that year of Menkheperra on a mummy with a band of the 1st year of Pinezem II. (Rev. Arch. No. 105).

The principal work known is the fortification of El Heybeh, known also as Medinet el Gahel or Sahel, by confusion with a site 3 miles N. of it. No plans or accounts of the fort there have been published. But it was the key to Upper Egypt, the country north of it having more connection with the Delta. The building at Karnak is the east wall of the temple. The stele from Thebes is the main document of the time. It is dated in the XXVth year, Epiphi 29. It records the visit of Menkheperra to southern Egypt to restore order. He went to Thebes, sending messengers before him that the majesty of Amen Ra should appear. He called on him greatly to establish him in the seat of his father, as the high priest of Amen, and great general of the army of the south and north. On the 4th intercalary day Amen came out in procession, and Menkheperra went in to Amen with offerings. He addressed him five times, and each time Amen gave his assent. The subject was the anger of Amen against people banished to the Oasis, of whom there were a hundred thousand, and the assent of the god to their recall. From the account of his visit to Thebes it appears as if he had long been absent from it, and needed to secure the recognition of the god. It is by no means the condition of a resident head of the priesthood, and it seems as if his position had drifted

into that of a purely secular ruler, who occasionally obtained divine sanctions. As Astemkheb had reigned alone at El Heybeh to begin with, possibly Menkheperra had gone to live there to establish his northern authority, and left Theban affairs to drag on alone. This banishment of large numbers of persons, and their recall, shows that keen civil war had been going on in the early part of his reign. In the 40th year, Epiphi 1, is an inscription at Karnak naming the high priest of Mentu, Zanefer son of Nesipaherenmut (Rec. xxii. 53).

The attention to royal mummies continued: Sety I. was rewrapped in yr. VII. with a band dated yr. VI.; and probably at the same time was the renewing of Ramessu XII. in yr. VII. (Ms. M. 555, 568). On the bandages of the priests of Amen, Menkheperra, royal son of Pinezem, is named (Nos. 2, 113), also the XLVIIIth yr. of Menkheperra (No. 105) with the Ist year of his successor, and the name of Pinezem II. Others also name him (Rev. Arch. xxviii. 75, Nos. 11, 14, 64, 96, 109).

The queen Astemkheb is usually named with Menkheperra on the bricks of El Heybeh, but sometimes with her father deceased (L.D. iii. 251 h), showing her sole rule there at first. The only other remains of this queen are from her burial at Deir el Bahri. The large square catafalque of leather with *appliqué* patterns of coloured leather is celebrated. The top is about 8 feet long and 7 feet wide, the sides over 5 feet high (Ms. M. 585). Six vultures are outspread along the middle, with the title and name of Masaharta deceased, the queen's father; while the sides bear an inscription for her and the cartouches of her son Pinezem II., under whom she died. It is possible, from Masaharta only being named on the top, that the top was made for his funeral, and that new sides were added for his daughter's funeral; but as there was half a century between the two ceremonies, this is not likely. The four bronze vases are placed in a wooden stand, and are each inscribed with the queen's name (Ms. M. 589,

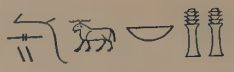
xxii. b). The four alabaster canopic jars have her sacerdotal title (Ms. M. 589). And a great quantity of offerings of food were in baskets with the seal of the queen or her husband (Ms. M. 590). Her ushabti box and osiride figure with papyrus are also in Cairo (Ms. M. 577, 590, 592); and her ushabtis are common (F.P. Coll. etc.), but are not mentioned by Maspero.



FIG. 86.—Shabtis of Astemkheb, Hent·taui II., and Nesikhonsu. F.P. Coll.

Her two coffins and cover are in good condition and of fine work; the mummy was intact (Ms. M. 577, vi. c).

A son, Pasebkhanu, who became high priest of Amen and other gods is not represented at Thebes; but a stele of his was at Abydos, now in B. Mus. (R.M.A. xxxi. xxxiv.).

XXI. 5. NESI BANEBDADU 

Karnak. Inscription of Hent·taui II.	(Ms. M. 705, 707).
Funeral pendant (Cairo)	(Rev. Arch. xxviii. 75, No. 130).
Bronze statuette (Mariemont, Belgium)	(Fig. 87).
Wife—HENT·TAUI II. Ushabtis, numerous.	(Fig. 86).
Daughter—Astemkheb III.	(Ms. M. 707).

There is nothing to show that this prince reigned,

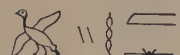


FIG. 87.—Nesibanebdadu, bronze figure.

except that he is called high priest of Amen on his statuette in the Warocqué Collection at Mariemont,

and on the pendant. If his life was only contemporary with that of his father, and he was only acting as high priest during his father's absence from Thebes, noted above, then he must be excluded from the series of separate rulers.

Of his wife, Hent-taui II., it seems that there are many ushabtis, which are far rougher and of poorer colour than those of Hent-taui I., though their inscriptions are longer. See Fig. 86.

XXI. 6. PINEZEM II.  about 1025–1006 B.C.

Mummy	Deir el Bahri (Cairo)	(Ms. M. 571).
Karnak	Pylon of Horemheb, N.W. side	(A.Z. xxi. 70–5).
,,	,, ,, N.E. ,,	(N. Pin.).
,,	Inscription in XIVth year of Siamen	(Rec. xxii. 61).
Thebes	Leather tabs on mummies	(A.Z. xx. 86; L. 22 dyn. 284).
,,	Priests of Amen bandages	(Rev. Arch. xxviii. 75–78, many).
,,	Deir el Bahri bandages, etc.	(Ms. M. See dates below).
,,	Coffin. Deir el Bahri (Cairo)	(Ms. M. 571).
,,	Jewellery ,, ,,	(Ms. M. 572).
,,	Book of Dead. Campbell Coll.	(W.G. 537).
,,	,, and decrees (Cairo)	(Ms. M. 572, 604).
,,	Canopic jars (Eyre Coll.)	(Rec. iv. 79).
,,	Ushabti boxes and ushabtis (many colls.).	(Ms. M. 590–1).

Dated inscriptions (either Theban or Tanite years)—

YEAR		
I.	Bandage	(Ms. M. 572).
II.	iv^{m}. x^{d}. Decrees, appearance of Amen	(N. Pin. 8).
II.	ix.–xii. 2. Decrees, consulting Amen	(N. Pin. 8).
III.	ix. 12. ,, ,,	(N. Pin. 8).
III.	Bandages	(Ms. M. 572; Rev. Arch. xxviii. 75; No. 17, 143).
V.	i. 1. In decree of property	(Ms. M. 704).

YEAR		
V.	ii. 9. Decree, appearance of Amen	(N. Pin. 9).
V.	xii. 8. Decree of Amen for Nesikhonsu	(Rec. ii. 17).
V.	xii. 21. Burial of Nesikhonsu	(Ms. M. 521).
VI.	xi. 19. In decree of property	(Ms. M. 705).
VII.	Of Siamen	(Rev. Arch. *l.c.* 133).
VII.	Bandage	(Rev. Arch. *l.c.* 134).
VII.	Bandages of Pinezem II.	(Ms. M. 572).
VIII.	Siamen	(Rev. Arch. *l.c.* 134).
IX.	Bandages of Pinezem II.	(Ms. M. 572).
X.	Bandage	(Rev. Arch. *l.c.* 134).
XII.	Bandage	(Rev. Arch. *l.c.* 65).
XIII.	Bandage of Nesitanebasheru	(Ms. M. 579).
XVI.	viii. 13. Of Siamen, moving of Sety I.	(Ms. M. 553).
XVI.	viii. 17. Of Siamen, moving of Ramessu II.	(Ms. M. 558).
XVI.	viii. 20. Burial of Pinezem	(Ms. M. 522).
XXII.	(?) Bandage, Amenemapt	(Rev. Arch. *l.c.* 134).

Queens—

NESIKHONSU I.

Married Pinezem	(Ms. M. 606, 609).
Daughter of Nesibanebdadu and wife	(Ms. M. 600, 707).
Mummy	(Ms. M. 578).
Usurped coffin of Astemkheb	(Ms. M. 578).
Rogers tablet (P. Mus.)	(Rec. ii. 15).
MacCallum tablet	(P.S.B.A. v. 77).
Edwards tablet (Univ. Coll., Lond.)	(Rec. iv. 81).
Canopic jars (Parrish Coll.)	(Rec. iv. 80).
70 glazed and glass vases	(Ms. M. 590, xxii. A).
Ushabtis and box (Fig. 86)	(Ms. M. 590, 591).
Papyrus	(Ms. M. 594–614).

ASTEMKHEB II.

Marriage contract	(Ms. M. 711).
Daughter of Menkheperra, coffin (Cairo)	(Rev Arch. xxviii. 86; Ms. M. 578, 707).
Bronze vases (Cairo)	(Ms. M. 589).
Alabaster canopics (Cairo)	(Ms. M. 589).

OR ASTEMKHEB III.

Daughter of Nesibanebdadu, decree	(Ms. M. 707).

Sons, by Nesikhonsu I.

Masahairta, Zaunefer	(Ms. M. 609).
by Astemkheb (?)	
Zedkhonsu auf ankh	(Rev. Arch. xxviii. 298).
Pasebkhanu	(Rev. Arch. xxviii. 75, etc.).

Daughters, by Nesikhonsu I.
Ataui, Nesitanebasheru (Ms. M. 609).
Daughter of Nesitanebasheru
Nesikhonsu II. (Rev. A. xxviii. 86).
Papyrus Musée Guimet, Paris.

The main information about this reign is on the pylon of Horemheb at Karnak. The N.E. wall shows a large scene of the procession of barques of Amen, Mut, and Khonsu, when Pinezem, son of Menkheperra, came to attend to the affairs, because the processions were interrupted owing to the frauds of the officials. Pinezem placed two documents before the god, one asserting the guilt of this divine father of Amen, Tahutmes, son of Suaa-amen, the other his innocence; the god indicated the statement of innocence. Then Tahutmes (being cleared) and Pinezem put a long series of inquiries to the god, and received assent to each. A procession then took place in the IInd year, and more questions were answered. Then in the IIIrd year, at the next annual procession, a further inquiry was made, apparently with a determination to clear Tahutmes. The god was asked if he forgave the required death of Tahutmes and confiscation of all his goods; and as the god always assented to questions, this leading question received the favourable answer. He secured his position further, and in a fresh inquiry in the Vth year Pinezem put the questions if Tahutmes was to be established again in all his offices, and so the inevitable divine assent confirmed the royal wishes. Large parts of the inscription have perished, but the general subject is clear (N. Pin.). This inquiry shows how little the nominal high priest really managed affairs, and that he was a secular ruler who left the religious business to his subordinate, the divine father of Amen.

The other long inscription near this is a settlement of the descent of the property of Astemkheb I., apparently after the death of Nesikhonsu in year V. (A.Z. xx. 75).

The coffin of Pinezem was found at Deir el Bahri, still containing his mummy, which was intact. The

bandages were dated in years I., III., VII., and IX. Upon the body were two beautiful inlaid bracelets; around the neck nine finely worked amulets, a large scarab, and a hawk. A papyrus of decrees lay on the body, and a Book of the Dead between the legs (Ms. M. 572). The ushabtis were abundant in the tomb; and the canopic jars had been removed by the Arabs and sold.



FIG. 88.—Nesikhonsu tablet. Edwards Coll.

The dated inscriptions are so continuous up to year XVI., that, though parts of them might refer to different Tanite reigns, yet at least a reign of 16 or 17 years is demanded. Some of them certainly refer to years of Siamen at Tanis.

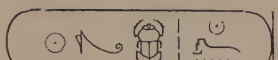
The queen Nesikhonsu died during her husband's life, and was buried in a Vth year; probably dated in the reign of Siamen, like Pinezem's burial in a XVIth year. Her mummy was found in good condition, in one of two coffins originally inscribed for the princess Astemkheb (Ms. M. 578). Three tablets for her are known (see Fig. 88), canopic jars, a great variety of beautiful cups of glass and glazed pottery (Ms. M. xxii. A), and also her ushabtis and papyrus (see list above).

There is very slight proof of the marriage of Astemkheb; a settlement of property of an Astemkheb (Ms. M. 711) implies that she was queen at a time when she could hardly be wife of any ruler but Pinezem; but it remains doubtful whether this Astemkheb was the sister or the niece of the king. The coffins, bronze

vases, and canopic jars of Astemkheb II. were found at Deir el Bahri (Ms. M. 578, 589).

Of the children, the two coffins and the mummy of Nesi·ta·neb·asheru were at Deir el Bahri. On the body was linen marked by the high priestess Astemkheb in year XIII. (of Pasebkhanu), presumably by her mother. She was probably born about 1008, by the family genealogy; and one of the very few and precious indications of age, recorded from the mummies, gives her 35 to 40 years of life. She died, therefore, about 970 B.C. The son Zedkhonsuaufankh was high priest, and had a son whose coffin has been noted in Rev. Arch. xxviii. 298.

XXI. 7.

TAT·KHEPRU·RA, SOTEP·EN·RA  about 1006–

PASEBKHANU  952 B.C.

Abydos.	Chapel of Ptah, hieratic inscrip.	(Rec. xxi. 10).
,,	Jar inscribed	(Rec. xxi. 10).
Karnak, statuette with Sheshenq I.		(Rec. xxvii. 72).
Ivory knob.	Saurma Coll.	(A.Z. xx. 88).
Bandages of priests of Amen		(Rev. Arch., see below).

The inscription in hieratic on the chapel of Ptah at Abydos gives full titles, king of upper and lower Egypt, and high priest of Amen, which fix this to the son of Pinezem. The inscribed jar from Um el Qaab has the same first cartouche and traces of the second. The ivory knob has the second cartouche, and *neb taui*. The bandages Nos. 17, 43, 48, 65, 125, 132, 133, 148 name him as son of Pinezem; and No. 66 gives the name in a cartouche.

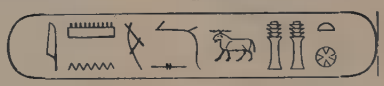
The last trace of this family is on a fragment at Karnak under Usarkon, naming the divine father Nes·pa·raui·taui, son of Hor·kheb, son of *x*, son of king Pasebkhanu (Rec. xxii. 58).

TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY OF TANIS.

MONUMENTS.	MANETHO.		B.C. about
			1102
Nesi·ba·dadu	Smendes	26	
			1076
Pa·seb·khanu	Psousennes I.	41	
			1035
. . .	Neferkheres	4	
			1031
Amen·em·apt	Amenenofthis	9	
			1022
Siamen	Osokhor	(2) 6	
			996
. . .	Psinnakhes	9	
			987
Pa·seb·khanu	Psousennes II.	35	
			952

The reasons for amending the reign of Siamen as 26 years instead of 6 as in Manetho, have been already stated, p. 192.

XXI. 1. HEZ·KHEPER·RA, SOTEPENRA  about 1102–1076 B.C.

MERY·AMEN, NESI·BA·DADUT 

Gebeleyn stele (Rec. x. 135; R.P. xvii. 21).
Lazuli bead (Mac. Coll.) (S.B.A. xxiv. 248).
Queen—THENTAMEN (Rec. xxi. 74).

The one important monument of this reign is the stele at the Gebeleyn quarries. The top scene is in two halves, the king offering to Amen and Khonsu, and the king offering to Amen and Mut. The inscription of 17 lines is more than half destroyed at the ends of the lines. It states that the king was living in his palace in Memphis, adoring Ptah and Mentu; Tahuti appeared to him in a dream, and warned him that the Nile was attacking the buildings of Tahutmes III. at Karnak. The king gave orders

to his engineers to take three thousand men, to work at Gebeleyn for stone to repair the temple. This shows that so far from this king belonging to Tanis and the Delta, he was seated at Memphis, attended to the repair of monuments at Thebes, and quarried at Gebeleyn.

Clearly at this time the high priest at Thebes was not attempting civil independence. This must be later than the Vth year (of Herhor ?), when Smendes appears to reside only in Tanis, and to be subject to the Theban ; and as Herhor probably survived Smendes, he must have had to acknowledge the Tanite authority in later life.

By the papyrus of Unuamen we hear of the queen Thentamen, who is always named with the king. She seems to be the same as Thentamen, the royal mother of Hent·taui, and probably daughter of Ramessu XII., as we have noticed before.

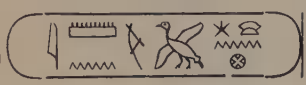
XXI. 2.

AA·KHEPER·RA, SOTEP·EN·AMEN



about 1076–1035 B.C.

MERY·AMEN· PASEBKHANU (I.)



Tanis	Inscriptions on sphinxes and offerers	(R.E. xxxv. ; Rec. ix. 11 ; P.T. i. iv. 26, 27, 29).
,,	Glazed tablets (C. Mus. ; F.P. Coll.)	(M.D. 103 A; Fig. 89).
,,	Bricks, great temenos wall	(L.D. iii. 255 d ; P.T. i. 19).
Gizeh	Temple	(M.D. 102 c ; P.P. 65).
Karnak	Inscription of IInd year	(Rec. xxii. 53).
Bronze capital (P. Mus.)		(P.L. 645).
Rings	(Berlin, 4543? ; F.P. Coll.).	(Fig. 90).
Daughter—Maat·ka·ra Mut·em·hat		(Ms. M. 577).

This king did important work at Tanis, as many glazed tablets of his occur there, showing that he refounded the temple ; and the enormous brick wall which encloses the whole temple area seems to bear

his name on every brick. This wall is about 3600 feet long, 80 feet thick, and was probably 30 feet high. Such a wall implies serious defensive necessities; but it is not clear against whom such a work was needed. The Syrians were not likely to be serious enemies during the later times of the Judges; and Pinezem Kheper·kha·ra would not have been so feared at the extreme limits of Egypt, unless he were master of much more than the upper country. It is possible that Pinezem was a powerful enemy early in the reign, and that peace was ensured by his alliance with Maat·ka·ra the daughter of Pisebkhanu. The inscriptions on the Hyksos sphinxes and fish offerers of Tanis were all reappropriations; but they are very boldly and truly cut.



FIG. 89.—Glazed plaque of Pasebkhanu I. F.P. Coll.



FIG. 90.—Glazed ring of Pasebkhanu I. F.P. Coll.

At Gizeh a temple on the hill was built, close to the east of the small pyramids of Khufu's family. Of this temple there is a slab with a divine father of Isis kneeling before cartouches (M.D. 102 c); and I saw another block of this king, which I was not allowed to copy, and which was destroyed for stone soon after (P.P. 2nd ed. 65). An inscription of a divine father of Amen, Paneferher, is at Karnak (Rec. xxii. 53). The inscribed bronze capital, about 6 inches high, in Paris, probably came from Tanis (P.L. 645). A glazed pottery ring is known (F.P. Coll.), and there is said

to be a ring at Berlin, not in catalogue. The daughter of this king Mut·em·hat has been noticed under the reign of Pinezem I.

XXI. 3. Neferkara, about 1035–1031 B.C.

Nothing is known of this king except a mention of Nephercheres in Manetho. Daressy suggests that Pinezem Kheperkhara took possession of Tanis, and Keferkara became Nefercheres in the list. But, by the long reign of Menkheperra, Pinezem must have died at least by 1070 B.C., if not earlier, and it is not likely that the dates should be shifted 10 years further back still in the Tanite line, so that he could be Nefercheres (Rec. xxi. 12).

XXI. 4. User·maat·ra, Sotep·en·amen 

Amen·em·apt, Mery·amen 

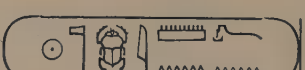
about 1031–1022 B.C.

Gizeh, temple (Berlin, Cairo)	(M.D. 102 b ; B.C. 7973).
Leather tabs	(A.Z. xx. 86).
Bandages, etc., of priests of Amen	(Rev. Arch. xxviii. 76, Nos. 38, 85, 121, 130, 134, 152).

The only monument of this king is the temple of Gizeh, which he continued ; one slab had figures of the king offering to Isis (M.D. 102 b), and another piece of this Isis temple is in Berlin. The mummy trappings bear this name often, showing that he had authority over the high priests.

XXI. 5.

NETER·KHEPER·RA, SOTEP·EN·AMEN



about 1022–996 B.C.

SI·AMEN, MERY·AMEN



Tanis	Temple	(P.T. ii. viii.).
,,	Plaques (C. Mus. ; P. Mus. ; Berl. ; F.P. Coll.)	(M.D. 103 B).
,,	On sphinx	(Rec. ix. 15).
,,	Bronze sphinx, inlaid (P. Mus.)	(M.P.E. 162).
Khataanah	Block	(N.G. 21, ix. E).
Heliopolis	On obelisk Tahutmes III. (Alex.; New York)	(B. x. lii.).
Memphis	Pillar in temple	(B. Rec. i. iv. 3).
Karnak	Inscription XIV. XVII. yr.	(Rec. xxii. 53, 61).
Gold pectoral (Cairo)		(W.G. 533).
Scarabs (P. Mus. ; F.P., G., H. Colls.).		
Bandages of high priests of Amen		(Rev. Arch. xxviii. 77, Nos. 133–4).

The principal work of this king was at Tanis, where he built in the temple, as is shown by his foundation tablets of gold, copper, and glazed pottery. The granite bases of columns have also been inscribed by him, apparently belonging to the colonnade before the sanctuary. A lintel, cornice, ceiling slab, and other pieces there bear his name. The beautiful bronze sphinx, inlaid with gold, is part of the offerings of this temple (P. Mus.).



FIG. 91.—Granite cornice of Siamen. Tanis.

At Khataanah a block has the bases of two cartouches. At Heliopolis, Siamen cut lines of his names along the edges of the obelisk of Tahutmes III. removed since to Alexandria, and then to New York

In the temple of Memphis a piece of a column erected under Siamen has an inscription of a priest of Astarte, Aah, and king Sahura.

At Karnak is an inscription of Hora, a divine father of Amen, in the XVIIth year; the grandson of Pa·nefer·her, who lived a century earlier under Pisebkhanu (Rec. xxii. 53). Another inscription of the 5 Mesore XIV. year, mentions Pinezem II. (Rec. xxii. 61).

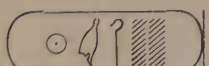


FIG. 92.—Scarab of Siamen. F.P. Coll.

The gold pectoral named above is not in the catalogue of the museum. Scarabs are not uncommon, about a dozen being known.

Students should be warned that this king has been often confused with Smendes, the first of the dynasty, and was long supposed to be the same as Herhor, who is called Siamen.

Of the name Psinnakhes in Manetho nothing is known on the monuments. Osokhor appears to be a transposition of name from the XXIInd dynasty.

XXI. 6. HEZ·HAQ·RA  about 987–952 B.C.

MERY·AMEN·, HOR·PA·SEB·KHANU (II.) 

Thebes, tomb.		(W.M.H. v. g).
Bead	F.P. Coll.	
On Hapi statue of Sheshenq	B. Mus.	(L.A. xv.).
Daughter—Maat·ka·ra	,,	(,,).

Scarcely anything of this king is known. His cartouches were seen by Wilkinson in a tomb at Thebes; and the name is best known by the statue mentioning his daughter, who was married to Uasarkon I.

The proposal to read the Hor bird as being only *a* of *Pa* is impossible, as shown by the bead which puts *Hor* before *Pa*. And the assertion that Aa·kheper·ra was the second Pasebkhanu (Rev. Arch. xxviii. 88) is



FIG. 93.—Bead of Pasebkhanu II. F. P. Coll.

impossible, because the father-in-law of Uasarkon is the same as the king Hez·haq·ra. Although this name occurs at Thebes, yet this cannot be the Pasebkhanu who was last of the Theban line, as his throne name was Tat·khepru·ra.

TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY

THIS dynasty is complex, owing to the system of co-regencies. On the one hand, such of the numbers as survive in Manetho's defective statement may refer to the reigns after the death of the predecessor, while the regnal years on monuments count from the beginning of a co-regency; and therefore we should the rather take for a sum the years from the beginning of each co-regency until the beginning of the next co-regency. The minimum length for the reigns will thus be reached by the latest dating of a king *minus* the earliest dating of his successor. These are—

	EARLIEST.	LATEST.	LATEST—NEXT EARLIEST.
Sheshenq I.	2	21	(21)
Uasarkon I.	12	36	29
Takerat I.	7	25	22
Uasarkon II.	3	28	23
Sheshenq II.		0	
Takerat II.	5	25	19
Sheshenq III.	6	53	51
Pamay	2	4	0
Sheshenq IV.	4	37	37

Uasarkon I. could not be co-regent before XXIst year of Sheshenq I., as Aupat was not yet dead, and was acting as heir and captain of the host in that year.

These, then, are the *minima* for each reign from one co-regency to the next. The sum gives 202 years; and this from the earliest date possible for Sheshenq I., 952 B.C., reaches to 750 B.C. for the end of the dynasty. As it is unlikely that we have monuments of the

earliest independent year, and also of the latest year of each king, it is clear that this period should be extended. On the other hand, the XXIVth dynasty cannot be later than 721–715 B.C.; and the XXIIIrd dynasty of 44 years must be reduced. If Psammos is a false entry, the dynasty may be only 34 years, and so have begun in 755 B.C. Earlier than this seems impossible, but Petubast may have been co-regent. We may thus take as probable for the beginnings of the reigns, within two or three years—

	Highest Statement.	Up to Co-regency.	about B.C.
			952
Sheshenq I.	21	22	
			930
Uasarkon I.	36	29	
			901
Takerat I.	25	22	
			879
Uasarkon II.	28	23	
			856
Sheshenq II.	0	0	
			856
Takerat II.	15	19	
			837
Sheshenq III.	53	51	
			786
Pamay	4	0	
			786
Sheshenq IV.	37	37	
			749

We do not know the ages of the family at any point. And the descent through Karamaat from the Tanites scarcely helps, as we can only say that Pasebkhanu II. by the length of his reign was probably born between 1000 and 1020 B.C. At the other end, in the genealogy of Horpasen we see him acting as priest of Neith, and therefore an adult, and yet without any children of importance to be named on his stele; perhaps, therefore, about 25 years of age, within 5 years either way, at the date of the stele in the 37th year of Sheshenq IV., 765 B.C. Thus the series of birth dates of the family would arrange themselves as follows:—

Pasebkhanu	1010	
Karamaat	990	
Uasarkon I.	970	within 10 years.
Takerat I.	948	
Uasarkon II.	926	
Uasarkon II.	922	
Nemart	900	
Ptah·hez·ankhf	878	
Ptah·hon	856	within 5 years.
Horpasen	834	
Ptah·hon	812	
Horpasen	790	

And as these birth dates would make the co-regency of each king begin between 40 and 50, the adoption of his successor between 60 and 70, and his death between 70 and 80, they show a most probable state of things. Another link is that the son of Uasarkon II. (Takerat II.) would be born at 900, and his son Uasarkon at 878, who was high priest in 845, the XIth year of Takerat II., which is quite reasonable (L.D. iii. 255 i).

This stele of Horpasen (M.S. xxxi.) is very valuable for the royal genealogy; but it has had an origin of the dynasty deduced from it baselessly, by the supposititious insertion of a descendive "son of," which does not exist on the original. The copy of the genealogical part here given has letters added to mark out each generation: capitals A–Q for males, and small letters *a–m* for females; and these are repeated in the margin for easy reference. It cannot be absolutely trusted, as it states that (G) Uasarkon II. was the son of (H) Takerat I. and (*h*) Sheps, at seven generations before it was written, while the contemporary evidence of the quay at Karnak states that the mother of Uasarkon II. was Mut·mery·ka·ma·ma (A.Z. xxxiv. 111).

It will be noticed that each generation begins with the formula "son of" until we reach L, which has no conjunction with K or *k*. Mariette supposed that *l* was Thentspeh, daughter of Takerat II.; later writers have assumed the insertion of "son of" at L, and supposed the whole genealogy L–Q to be of the ancestors of Sheshenq I. continuously throughout. But this is not what we find in the text; and the

supposed ancestry of the dynasty from Tahenbuyuaua —so often stated—all rests on this supposititious insertion. Though some names are often repeated, yet a double conjunction of names is very rare. Hence when we see that F and *f* are Namareth and Thentspeh, and the same names occur for the couple L and *l* who are introduced without any formula, we may well conclude them to be a repetition of the same

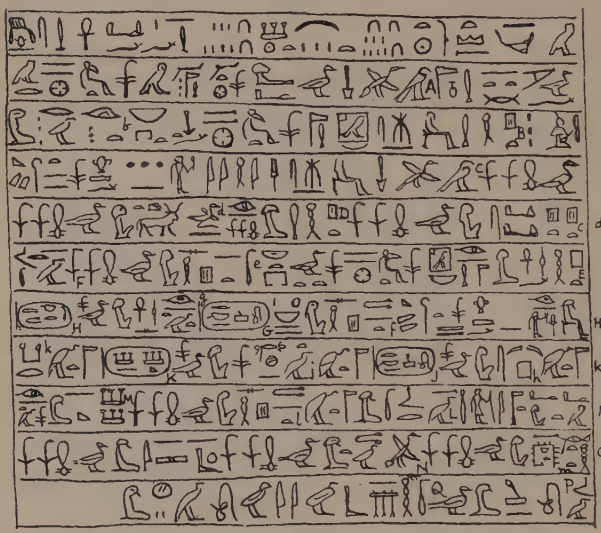


FIG. 94.—Genealogy of Horpasen. M.S. 31.

people. In fact, the writer having traced the family back to the founder of the dynasty at K, *k*, then picks up the thread again and goes through the genealogy of another parent. The only difficulty is that (*f*) Thentspeh is followed by "son" of Uasarkon, and (L) Namareth is followed by "son" of Sheshenq. We should expect one of these to refer to the wife, have the *t* added, and be "daughter of"; and as L is called son of a man of the same titles, it seems that the

corruption must be at *f*, where it should read "*sit neb taui* Uasarkon." Some emendation is absolutely needed, and the choice lies between (1) inserting "son of" before L, supposing that two different couples F *f* and L *l* had the same names, and having a "royal mother" at *m* two generations before the dynasty begins; or else (2) altering a stroke to a *t* at G, equating F *f* and L *l* of the same names, and taking *m* as royal mother of Takerat II. The latter arrangement seems far the more likely; and it is corroborated by thus bringing the royal mother Mehtenusekht to the same generation as queen Mut·em·hat Karama, which agrees with the fact that the ushabtis of the two queens are identical in colour and style. Hence we should arrange the results thus—

Q. Tahenbuyuaua
|
P. Mauasa — K. Sheshenq I. = Karamat *k*
| |
O. Nebnesha — J. Uasarkon I. = Tashedkhonsu *j*
| |
N. Pathut — H. Takerat I. = [Sheps] *h*
| *m* |
M. Sheshenq = Mehtenusekh = G. Uasarkon II. = Muthezankhs *g*
| a ki|ng |
F, L. Namareth = ... Thentspeh *f l*
|
E. Ptah·hezankhf = Thentspeh *e*
|
D. Ptah·hon = Zaenkakemt *d*
|
C. Horpasen = Petpetdudus *c*
|
B. Ptah·hon = Mertiru *b*
|
A. Horpasen.

Tahenbuyuaua was thus a chief one generation earlier than Sheshenq I., and not a remote ancestor of the dynasty.

Now it is mainly on the name Tahen here that the theory of the Libyan origin of the dynasty has been based, though Renouf long ago rendered the word as "splendid" or "great" (S.B.A. xiii. 602), rather than

as referring to the Tahennu Libyans. If, however, this person, as we have seen, was not the ancestor of the dynasty, but only the remote ancestor of a man named Sheshenq (after Sheshenq I.), the meaning of his name is of no importance historically, whichever way it is interpreted. The dynastic names are essentially eastern, and not western. Sheshenq is Shushanqu, "a man of Shushan" or Susa, a name known on Babylonian tablets. Nemareth may well be taken from *nimr*, the leopard; Takerat perhaps from Zend *tighri*, the tiger, or from Tuklat, "help," a word which was prominent then in Tuklatpalisharra of Assyria; and Uasarkon from the great Sargon I., whose name was repeated 2700 years later by Sargon II. A main argument for a Libyan origin was that the "chief of the Mashawash," or Maxyes, was a frequent title in this age. However, not only may the name of a people be transferred to a quality of troops, but the title, "chief of Libyans," would not necessitate a Libyan origin for the family, any more than the title "Prince of Wales" implies a Welsh origin of English rulers. In face of the obvious meaning of the chief name of the dynasty—"the man of Susa"—we must look to some Babylonian or Persian adventurer in the service of the Tanite kings for the source of the dynasty.

XXII. 1. HEZ·KHEPER·RA, SOTEP·EN·RA  952–930 B.C.

SHESHENQ (I.) 

Tanis	Sphinxes usurped	P. Mus. (R.M.L.; A. 23; P.T. i. pl. ii. 14).
Tell el Maskhuta	Block	(N.P. 12–13, iii. b).
Bubastis	Block	(N.B. 46).
Memphis	Albaster base of Shedes-nefertum	(B.T. 817; A.Z. xvi. 38).
,,	Column of black granite	(Rec. xxii. 143).

El Heybeh	Temple	(A.S. ii. 84, 154).
Karnak	S. wall of temple	(L.D. iii. 252–53 a).
,,	Forecourt	(L.D. iii. 253 b, c; 254 a, b; 255 a b).
,,	Block	(L.D. iii. 255 c; Br. R. i. 27, 2).
,,	Quartzite stele with Auput	(A.S. v. 38).
,,	Sekhet statues. Brux. (S.B.A. xi. 257); P. Mus. (A. 7); Turin (L.T. p. 21, 252); Padua; Vienna.	
Oasis Dakhel	Stele Oxford	(Rec. xxi. 13).
W. Silsileh	Stele	(L.D. 254 c; B.H. ii. 210).

Glazed tile		(Ms. A. 270).
Leather tab	F. Mus.	(2459).
Sistrum top?	H. Coll.	(3878).
Pottery box	C. Mus.	(W.G. 550).
Blue paste ram	Berlin	(Berl. Cat. 8060).
Group, private	Venice	(S.B.A. viii. 90).
Plaque, glazed	B. Mus. 26811.	
Plaque, green glaze, with figure.	Hoffman Coll. 198.	
Scarabs, common	variant name	(M.A. 1392).
Scarab in gold ring	B. Mus. 14345.	
Portrait		(L.D. iii. 300, 76).

Queen—KA·RA·MAAT. Horpasen stele (M.S. xxxi.).

Sons—

Auput.	
Karnak temple	(L.D. iii. 253 b, c; 255 a, b).
Coffin, Ramesseum	(Q.R. xxx. A, 2).
Silsileh stele	(L.D. iii. 254 c).
Portrait	(L.D. iii. 300, 77).
Son Nesikhonsu·pa·khred	(Q.R. 21, xxx. A, 3).
Uasarkon I.	(M.S. xxxi.).

The legitimation of this dynasty is not certain, as we shall see in the discussion of the queen Karamat. It is possible that Sheshenq's only claim was that of the sword; but it is more likely that the legal right came in with the marriage of the Tanite princess to Sheshenq, and not to his son.

The one great event of the reign was the Syrian campaign, the triumph of which is figured on the south outside wall of the great temple of Karnak. Unfortunately the figure of the king was never carved; but only his heap of captives of Syrian physiognomy, and

the giant figure of Amen and the lesser figure of Thebes, holding captive more than 150 places (L.D. iii. 252–53). The names do not extend far north, and the whole expedition seems to have been limited to Judaea and Samaria. It is of little use to study the lists as seriously as we have done those of the XVIIIth dynasty. The ground covered is but small, and the form of the lists is corrupt, as the names of places have been divided into convenient portions to fit into the town ovals, and some names are repeated. Maspero supposes that the lists may be copied from the frontier delimitation of the kingdom of Judah which submitted to Sheshenq (A.Z. xviii. 48). Probably the names are those of places which were tributary, or the bounds of the subject land, rather than the records of actual fights, like the lists of Tahutmes III. The account of this campaign in 1 Kings xiv. and 2 Chron. xii. agrees with the sculptures. Putting the additions of Chronicles in brackets, we read, "In the Vth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem [. . . with 1200 chariots and 60,000 horsemen, and the people without number that came with him out of Egypt, the Lubim, the Sukkim, and the Cushim. And he took the fenced cities of Judah and came to Jerusalem]. And he took away the treasures of the house of Yahveh, and the treasures of the king's house, he took away all; and he took away all the shields of gold which Solomon had made." This accords perfectly with the contemporary record in



FIG. 95.—Sheshenq I. L.D. iii. 300.

Egypt. And when an encyclopædic critic states that "it is difficult to doubt that Shishak and Shushakim are corruptions of Cushi and Cushim," and "they belong to well-ascertained types of textual corruption," it is evident that this form of historical criticism belongs to a well-ascertained type of critical aberration.

An easy mistake at first was the assumption that the name Yudhmalk, No. 29 in the list, represented the king (*melek*) of Judah. But as this is a place-name it is now recognised that it is the town Yehudah, belonging to the king. A question has been raised about the peoples said to serve as auxiliaries to the Egyptians: the Lubim are Libyans; the Cushim, Southerners; and the Sukkim may well be the frontier tribes of the Delta, in Thuku which the Jews rendered as Succoth, with the same *s* and *k* (*sad* and *koph*) as in Sukkim. Hitherto they have not been identified, but they are the most likely of all people to join forces in a Judaean war. This campaign is not dated at Karnak; but it seems to have been near the end of the reign, as at Silsileh is a stele recording in the XXIst year of the reign the quarrying of stone for building at Karnak a great pylon and festival hall. This is doubtless the forecourt leading to the Ramesside great hall, the sides of which are of this reign. Probably the work having been begun so late in the reign was left incomplete, and so it fell to the Ptolemies to finish the great pylon. It is on this wall of Sheshenq that his triumph is figured; and this sculpture thus cannot have been before his XXIst year; and as it is probable that the war would not have remained long unrecorded before that, the campaign may be put to about the XXth year of the reign. The Jewish chronology, stiffened by Assyrian synchronisms, would best place Rehoboam as beginning his reign in 937 B.C., and his Vth year in 933 (see *Dict. Bib.*, 1898, art. Chronology, p. 401). Hence the year 1 of Sheshenq would have been in 952 B.C., which we have therefore adopted here. The work was directed by Auput, the eldest son, high priest of Amen, and commander-in-chief; and carried

out by Horemsaf the chief architect. This shows that Auput was still alive then, and therefore no co-regency of Uasarkon I. can yet have begun.

The Delta monuments are but scanty; a few usurpations at Tanis, a block at Tell el Maskhuta, and another at Bubastis, are all that remain. At Memphis there is an alabaster base (for an altar?) set up by the high priest Shedesnefertum (B.T. 817); and fragments of granite columns carved by a high priest (Rec. xxii. 143). Neither of these works seem to be due to the king's orders.

At El Heybeh is the most northern work of importance, a temple of limestone, about 120 feet long, which has been nearly all destroyed (A.S. ii. 84, 154). There are remains of a triumphal scene; but the only names left are generalities which are also on the Karnak list (3 and 5).

The only great work of the reign was the forecourt of Karnak, over 250 feet long, with columns along the sides; and it is on this that most of the sculpture of this reign is preserved (L.D. iii. 252–255). The Sekhet figures in the temple of Mut received many added inscriptions of this reign. A stele concerning water supply in the Oasis of Dakhel may belong to this reign; it was set up under a Sheshenq, and names the Vth and XIXth years, but these might equally apply to Sheshenq III. or IV. (Rec. xxi. 13). The Silsileh stele is the most southern monument. It shows the king, attended by Auput, and led by Mut before Amen Horus and Ptah; and below the formal inscription is a private one of the architect Horemsaf, giving the date and other details of the work (L.D. iii. 254 c).

There are no small monuments of any importance dated to this reign.

The queen of Sheshenq is stated on the stele of Horpasen as being named Karamat (M.S. xxxi.). And in the *Livre des Rois*, the authority for the position of this queen is stated also to be the "temple of Karnak." There is, however, no published inscription of the queen from there; and the titles of those cartouches

stated in *L.R.* are exactly what occur on the canopic jar and ushabti in L.D. 256, so that the statement of source is probably wrong. There is no evidence of the position of the queen to whom the jar and ushabti belong. There are several queens of similar names, as follow :—

1. Ka·ra·mat, wife Sheshenq I. Horpasen stele (M.S. xxxi).
2. Maat·ra·ka, wife or mother of Uasarkon I. Hapi statue, B.M. (L.A. xv. ; A.B. xiii.).
3. Ka·ro·mama, mother Uasarkon II., daughter of H. P. of Amen Nemart. Karnak (L.D. 256 a, 257 a).
 Ka·mama, wife Takerat I. Karnak quay, 6, 7 (A.Z. xxxiv. 111).
 Mut·em·hat, bronze statue. P. Mus. (P.R. 139).
4. Ka·ra·ma, mother Sheshenq II., wife Uasarkon II. Bubastis (N.B. 52).
 Ka·ra·zat (read *mat*), wife Uasarkon II. Karnak (Rec. xxii. 131).
 Ka·ra·ma, mother of a Sheshenq. Lazuli scarab (F.P. Coll.).
5. Ka·ra·mat, daughter of Uasarkon II. (N.B. 52).
6. Ankh Ka·ra·mat, daughter of Takeret II. (L.K. 606)—and the following unplaced :—
7. Divine wife of Amen Ka·ra·ma. Canopic jars, Berlin (L.D. 256 b, c) (with double cartouches)
 Ka·ra·m, ushabtis various (L.D. 256 f, g).
8. Ka·ra·m . . . mother of
9. . . . mama } Kneeling figure. Berlin (L.D. 256 h).
10. Ka·ra·ma, royal daughter (A.S. iv. 183–6).

Of these, 1, 2, 3, 4 might be queens of the first four kings of the dynasty ; 7 having double cartouches and full royal titles is probably the same as No. 2, the heiress who brought in royal rights from the Tanite line ; 9 is the same as 3, who has the variant *mama*, and so 8 is = 2 ; 10 died in the 25th year of a Takerat, which must be the second, as Uasarkon was high priest ; and being not married to

a king, she cannot be any of the above 1–4, but might well be Nos. 5 or 6. The question remains if 1 and 2 may be the same. It would be possible that Horpasen may have made a mistake about the mother of Uasarkon I. as he did about the mother of Uasarkon II. But it is more probable that the name No. 2 is to be read as the mother of Uasarkon; for what makes some unifying of Nos. 1 and 2 seem likely is that 2 is written like the name of Maat·ka·ra Hatshepsut (from whom the name was probably



FIG. 96.—Auput. L.D. iii. 300.

borrowed by the Tanite king as referring to her heirship of the kingdom), and the other names seem to be a clumsy variation of this name. That the bad variation should come in at No. 1, before the true form appears as No. 2, is very unlikely. So this suggests that either 1 is an entire mistake, or else 2 was really the same as 1. On the whole, it seems most likely that the Hapi statue must be read as giving the name of the mother of Uasarkon I.; and so 2 is really = 1, and no wife of Uasarkon appears in this series.

The queen Ka·ra·maat is stated to have been the

daughter of king Pasebkhanu II. of Tanis, on the statue dedicated by her grandson prince Sheshenq (A.B. xiii.). And to her probably belongs the tomb at Qurneh found by the Arabs before 1843, and now unknown. The canopic jars from there have her titles as heiress, "divine wife, lord of both lands, lord of crowns," with two cartouches as "divine adorer of Amen, Loved of Mut, Karama." This shows her position as heiress in her own right. The jars are in Berlin (L.D. 256 b, c); and the ushabtis, doubtless from the same tomb, are in Berlin (256 f, g), Paris (S. Hist. 221), and Philadelphia (Rec. xxvi. 33).



FIG. 97.—Scarab of Sheshenq I. and Uasarkon I. F.P. Coll.

The prince Auput was the heir, high priest of Amen, and commander-in-chief. He must have died after the XXIst year (see L.D. iii. 254 c), and yet before his father, as Uasarkon succeeded. The arm of an elaborate statue of his was found in the temple of Mut at Karnak (B.G.M. 350); and he is mentioned on two fragments of burials of his descendants at the Ramesseum (Q.R. xxx., A. 2, 3), Nesikhonsupakhred being his daughter, and Nekhtefmut her son. There are also braces stamped by Auput (Ms. Q.G. 429).

The dated monuments are of VIth year at Karnak quay (A.Z. xxxiv. 111), and XXIst year on the Silsileh stele (L.D. 254 c); and perhaps of Vth year on the Oasis stele (Rec. xxi. 13).

XXII. 2.

SEKHEM·KHEPER·RA SOTEP·EN·RA



930–894 B.C.

UASARKON (I.)

Bubastis	Large building in temple	(N.B. 47).
,,	Smaller temple	(N.B. 60).
Shibin	Bronze statuette	(S.B.A. vi. 205).
Illahun	Building	(A.Z. x. 90).
,,	Door	(P.I. 25).
El Heybeh	Temple	(A.S. ii. 88).
Abydos	Stele, XXXVIth yr. F.P. Coll.	
Karnak	Great hall forecourt	(L.D. 257 b, c).
,,	Quay, year XII.	(A.Z. xxxiv. 111, No. 2).
Luqsor	Statue of Zedkhonsuaufankh	(Rec. xvi. 56).
Qurneh	Leather tabs	(A.S. ii. 145).
Ramesseum	Leather *menat* and tab	(Q.R. xvii. xviii.).

Sphinx, Vienna (W.G. 553).
Statue, fragments. Meuricoffre Coll. (Rec. xvii. 14).
Bronze plate, Osiris Anarrudf. Ivanovitsch Coll. (S.B.A. xiii. 36).
Leather tabs (Cairo), P. Mus. (S.H. 453); B. M. (7871 a), F.P. Coll., Darmstadt (S.B.A. xiii. 34); L. Mus. (L. Mon. ii. xxix. 4, 5, 7, 8).

Wooden menat of Nesiamen	H. Coll.	(P. Cat. 1740).
Agate cylinder	Bruxelles	(W.G. 553).
Scarabs, with Sheshenq I.	B. Mus.	(P. Sc. 1763).
	F.P. Coll.	(Fig. 97).

Scarabs, not common. L. Mus.; 2 F.P. Coll.
Portrait (L.D. iii. 300, 78).

Queens—THENT-SA	Karnak quay, 4	(A.Z. xxxiv. 111).
TASHEDKHONSU	Horpasen	(M.S. xxxi.).

Sons—
Sheshenq, co-regent (A.B. xiii.).
Takerat (I.), co-regent and successor (M.S. xxxi.).
Nemart, high priest and captain of the host (L.D. iii. 257).

Very little is known about this reign, the only important works of which were at Bubastis and Illahun. At Bubastis, the dynastic capital, a large amount of temple building was done, adorned with scenes of the king offering to various gods. And a smaller temple

seems to be entirely due to this reign, and records vast offerings to the gods. From Shibin comes a bronze statuette inlaid with cartouches in gold. At Illahun a fort was built, mentioned by Piankhy (stele, 4 and 77); and a large wooden door of this reign was found in the ruins of the XIIth dynasty town. The temple at El Heybeh was further decorated, as also the forecourt at Karnak. From Luqsor, Qurneh, and the Rameseum come private remains dated to this reign.



FIG. 98.—Bronze statuette of Uasarkon I. Shibin el Qanatir. Lehmann Coll.

The most interesting inscription of this reign is one which I bought at Abydos. The scene at the top of the stele is lost; but the text is entire. "Year XXXVI. under the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of both plains Ra·sekhem·kheper sotep·en·ra, Son of the Sun, Lord of diadems, Mery Amen Uasarkon, living eternally. The 4th prophet of Amenra, king of the gods, royal son of Rameses, chief of the Mahasa, prince, Pashedbast, *maakheru*, was walking about on the desert; behold he found a stele of Rosta (necropolis) near the hill of That, which conceals its Lord (Osiris) as if (?) brought from Resta, near Ankhtaui (in the Memphite necropolis). He fenced it, and surrounded it with steles, and gave to it land . . . and established for it daily offerings from the divine endowments, wine, incense, libations of water . . . to the pleasure of [its] lord Osiris Khentamenti, Lord of Abydos, as an everlasting possession."

The date is by far the latest known in this reign. The subject of the chance finding of an old stele, and placing it in an honourable condition, is unusual; and it may well refer to some of the large tomb steles of the early kings at Abydos. The personage, Pashedbast, is described as a royal son of Rameses; and this class of nobles, descended from the last great rulers, are known on several other monuments, which we may here summarise.

1. *Zed·hor·auf·ankh*, blue glazed plaque made by Sheshenq I. B. Mus. 26811 (M.D. 63 a).
2. *Pa·shed·bast*, stele, XXXVI. yr., Uasarkon I. (above).
3. *Zed·ptah·auf·ankh*, 2 coffins re-used, 2 boxes, ushabtis, papyrus Brocklehurst (Ms. M. 573); and on bands of Nesitanebasheru (Ms. M. 718).
4. *Uapuat*, piece of alabaster vase, Cairo (Ms. M. 719).
5. *Nemart*, granite statue, Miramar (A.Z. xxviii. 36; B.H.I. iii. iv.).
6. *x*, stele of XXVIII. yr., Sheshenq III. (A.Z. xxi. 19).

These scions of the old stock were by no means proscribed; and they held important offices as chiefs of the army (1, 2, 4, 5), high priest of Amen (6), 3rd priest of Amen (3), and also married to a king's daughter (1). That such boasted descent was not considered to be a political danger, proves that the dynasty had an ancestry as important, or more so. The enormous family of Ramessu II. had doubtless a very widespread posterity, and seem to have largely filled the official berths of the country.

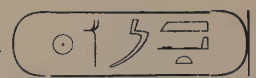
The invasion of Zerakh (2 Chron. xiv. 9, xvi. 8) was formerly (R. S. Poole, Smith's *Dict. Bib.*) believed to refer to an Uasarkon, Zerakh representing (U)Serak(on); but latterly this has been dropped in favour of some unrecorded person of a dubious Cush in N. Arabia. There are, however, solid grounds for taking this as an Egyptian invasion: (1) After the

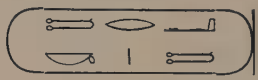
defeat they fled towards Egypt, not eastward toward Arabia, and the cities round Gerar belonging to the invaders were plundered. Gerar was on the road to Egypt, south of Gaza, and it is highly probable that after Shishak's victory the Egyptians had kept frontier towns in Palestine. This would not accord with an Arabian invasion. (2) The invaders were Cushim and Lubim or Libyans (2 Chron. xvi. 8), and this could only be the case in an Egyptian army. So we must look to Egypt when we read, "There came out against them (the army of Asa) Zerakh the Ethiopian with an host of a thousand thousand and 300 chariots, and came unto Mareshah. Then Asa went out against him. . . . So Yahveh smote the Ethiopians before Asa and before Judah; and the Ethiopians fled, and Asa and the people that were with him pursued them unto Gerar; . . . and they smote all the cities round about Gerar." This was about the XIVth year of Asa (2 Chron. xv. 10), 904 B.C., so it would fall into the later part of the reign of Uasarkon I.

The earliest date of the king is of the XIIth year, but his co-regency with his father (which one scarab records by double cartouches) may not have been long, as Auput was living to the XXIst year of Sheshenq I.

The queen, mother of Takerat I., is stated on the Karnak quay to have been Thentsa; and this cannot refer to Takerat II., as his name is distinguished in No. 3 by the throne name, and his mother must have been the "royal mother Mehtienusekht." Yet Horpasen names the mother of Takerat I. as Ta·shed·khonsu, which may be an error. The eldest son and heir was Sheshenq, who was associated as co-regent, took a cartouche, was high priest of Amen, and commander-in-chief. He dedicated the statue of Hapi offering, on which he is figured (B. Mus.; A.B. xiii.); also a green breccia statuette at Karnak; and another for his wife Apiai (Rec. xxvii. 72). His wife was Nesta·uza·akhet, and they had a son Uasarkon, whose papyri are at Petersburg (Lb. P. 56–59), and whose coffin lid is at Stockholm (8th Or. Cong. p. 9). Sheshenq, however,

died before his father, as he did not reign, but the throne passed to another son Takerat. Nemart, another son, was high priest, and commander of the army in Henensuten; his daughter Karomama was queen of Takerat I. (L.D. iii. 357).

XXII. 3. USER·MAAT·RA  901–876 B.C.

TAKERAT (I.) 

Abydos	Statuette	(A.A. 42, 52, xxiv.).
	Stele Cairo Mus.	(Rec. xv. 173).
Karnak	Temple of Osiris	(Rec. xxii. 128, 130–132).
,,	Temple of Khonsu, yr. VII.	(Rec. xviii. 51–2).
Steles	Flor. Mus., yr. XXIII.	(S. Cat. F. 1806).
,,	Grant Coll. Takerat I.?	(S.B.A. xiii. 36).

Queen—MUT·EM·HAT KAROMAMA.

	Karnak quay, 6, 7	(A.Z. xxxiv. 111).
	,, temple	(L.D. 256 a, 257 a).
	Bronze statue P. Mus.	(P.R. i. 39).
	On kneeling figure Berl. Mus.	(L.D. 256 h).
TA·SHEP or SHEPS	Tur. Mus.; Horpasen	(Lb. D. 1014; M.S. xxxi.).
HENT·TAUI		(Lb. D. 1010).

Sons—

Uasarkon II.	Horpasen	(M.S. xxxi.; L.D. iii. 255–57).
Namart		(Lb. D. 1014).

Daughter?—Shepensopdet (Q.R. xxvii. 7, p. 20).

This king was formerly not recognised, and a misread version of the name of Takerat II., on a half illegible leather tab, was attributed to Takerat I. There can, however, be no doubt of the position of User·maat·ra, as in a scene at Karnak he has associated as co-regent with him his son Uasarkon II., back to back, with one throne name in common (Rec. xxii. 132).

From Abydos comes a portion of a statuette of the

king in pale green stoneware (B. Mus. 37,326), with his cartouches and titles on the back; also a stele on which the king and Osiris are adored by a prophet of Anubis, Nesiurthekau, and his wife Shepensopdet. The temple of Osiris at Karnak was mainly built during the co-regency of this king and his son Uasarkon, whose daughter Shepenapt also appears with them as great heiress of the kingdom. We have already seen that Uasarkon was probably over 40 at his co-regency, and hence would probably have a full-grown daughter at that time.



FIG. 99.—Takerat I. statuette; Abydos. A. Ab. iii.

The long genealogies engraved in the VIIth year of this reign, upon the roof of the temple of Khonsu, are not very clear, both from their construction and condition. The series of 12 generations of fanbearers have no historic connection. But there seems to be traceable a line of Zedkhonsuaufankh married to Nesipanub. His father Pakhredenast, son of Ryurhana, his father Rythisa. Then "his mother Takhredenast, daughter of Ryurhana," is probably sister of Pakhredenast of the same father. Then *pa·nekhti·mut·ef*, that is his grandmother, "Ta-shaenkheper, the royal wife of Pharaoh Uasarkon, the child of Mehtienusekh." Hence we trace the following genealogy, with approximate birth dates:—

Mehtienusekh (990)
|
Uasarkon I. (970) = Tashaenkheper (965) = Ryurhana
|
Pakhredenast (945) = Takhredenast
|
Zedkhonsuaufankh (925).

the last being then about 21 in 904, the date of the stele.

The rest of a genealogy back to Menkheperra is too broken to be followed; but by the dates it could not contain more than seven or eight generations.

The Florence stele in the XXIInd year concerns a grant of land to the superintendent of offerings of Bast, Horkhebt.

The contemporary inscription on the quay at Karnak gives the queen's name as Karomama, and she also appears as daughter of Nemart, the high priest of



FIG. 100. — Mut·em·hat, bronze statuette, Serapeum. M.P.E. 117.

Amen, and mother of Uasarkon II. at Karnak (L.D. iii. 256 a, 257 a). She was the great heiress of the kingdom, as appears by her double cartouche, Amen·mery, Mut·em·hat, Mut·mery Karomama on her beautiful bronze statue inlaid with gold, dedicated by Aah·duf·nekht (Paris, P.R. i. 40). She also appears on a kneeling figure as making offerings (L.D. 256 h). Horpasen is in error in stating that Sheps was the mother of Uasarkon II.; she is probably the same as Tashep, the mother of Nemart (Lb. D. 1014; L. cat.

T. 1468 is incomplete). Another queen Hent·taui is named, who was the mother of Uasarkon, the high priest of Amen and great captain, who is apparently the successor.

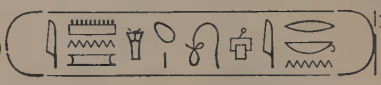


FIG. 101.—Mutemhat adoring Amen. Berlin Museum. L.D. iii. 256 h.

The heir was Uasarkon II.; and according to monuments (yet unpublished) a king Horsiast was associated with him till his XXIIIrd year (Rec. xxvii. 76; and see pp. 265–6). A princess Shepensopdet probably belongs to Takerat I.; she married Zed·khonsu·auf·ankh, and had a daughter named Nehem·bastet (Q.R. xxvii.).

XXII. 4.

USER·MAAT·RA, SOTEP·EN·AMEN  879–851 B.C.

MERY·AMEN, UASARKON (II.) SI·BAST 

Tanis	Statue	(P.T. i. vi. 41; xiv. 3; P.T. ii. 21).
,,	Block	(Rec. xviii. 49).
Tell el Maskhuta	Figure of Ankhrenpnefer	(N.P. 12, iv. A).
Bubastis	Festival hall	(N.B. 50; N.F.H.).
,,	Red granite naos Cairo Mus.	(Rec. xxiii. 132).
Karnak	Door jamb from chapel Berl. Mus.	(Berl. Cat. 2101–2).
,,	Graffiti, temple of Khonsu	(C.N. ii. 241, 242).
,,	,, quay, yrs. III.–XXIX.	(A.Z. xxxiv. 111).
,,	Temple of Osiris	(Rec. xxii. 128–34).
Luqsor	Graffito of inundation	(Rec. xviii. 181).

Stele, yr. XXII.	Stroganoff Coll.	(W.G. 555).
Basalt base of statuette	F.P. Coll.	
Clay cylinder (sistrum handle?)		(A.Z. xxi. 23).
Aegis, bronze	Petersburg	(G.E. 492).
Gold ring of Hormes	P. Mus.	(P.L.; S.H. 488).
Alabaster vase of Nebneteru	P. Mus. D. 34	(P.R. ii. 86).
,, Nes·pa·ra	F.P. Coll.	
Scarabs, several	Ends of braces C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 298, 486).

Queens—

(1) KARAMA (mother Sheshenq II.).
- Bubastis (N.F.H.).
- Karnak, Osiris temple (Rec. xxii. 131).
- Ushabtis. F.P. Coll.; Berl. (L.D. iii. 256 e).

(2) MEHTIENUSEKHT (mother Takerat II.).
- Royal mother (M.S. xxxi.).
- Ushabtis. F.P. Coll.; Berl. (L.D. 256 d).

(3) AST·EM·KHEBT (m. Thesbast·peru).
- Canopic jars (Vienna) (L.D. iii. 255 e–h).

(4) MUT·HEZ·ANKHS (m. Thentspeh).
- Horpasen stele (M.S. xxxi.).

Sons—

SHESHENQ II. by Karama. Lazuli scarab (F.P. Coll.).
TAKERAT II. by Mehtienusekht.
NEMART, black granite seated figure, Karnak (C. Mus.).

Daughters—

(of 1)	Amen·em·khnum·ab, Mut·mery Shap·ben·apt.	
	Karnak, temple of Osiris	(Rec. xxii. 131).
	Ta·sha·kheper	(N.B. 52).
	Ka·ra·mat	(N.B. 52).
	Stele, land grant	(A.S. iv. 183–86).
	. . . armer	(N.B. 52).
(of 3)	Thesbastperu	(L.D. iii. 255 e–h).
(of 4)	Thentspeh	(M.S. xxxi.).

Dated monuments.

YEAR			
III.	Tybi 12	Inundation, Thebes	(Rec. xviii. 181).
III.	Karnak	Quay, No. 5	(A.Z. xxxiv. 111).
V.	,,	,, ,, 6.	
VI.	,,	,, ,, 7.	
XII.	,,	,, ,, 8, 9.	
XIII.	,,	,, ,, 10.	
XIII.	Mesore 13	Graffito, temple Khonsu	(C.N. ii. 241).
XX.	Quay 11.		
XXII.	,, 12.		
XXII.	*Sed* festival, Bubastis		(N.F.H. 6).
XXII.	Stroganoff stele		(W.G. 555).
XXIII.	Apis Stele, P. Mus. S.H. 275		(M.S. Ms. 158).
XXVIII.	Quay 13=Vth year of Takerat II.		
XXIX.	,, 14.		

The statue from Tanis is an original work of this reign, and shows how well sculpture was maintained in the school of grey granite. The inscription on a block there belongs to the latter part of the reign, as it refers to the amity of his children in various positions which they occupied, and to the leading position of the sons of Karama.

The squatting figure of Ankhrenpnefer holding a shrine, states that he was a beneficent official of the temple at Pithom in this reign.

The principal monument of this reign is the great pylon of red granite, of which the blocks were found at Bubastis. The whole doorway was 35 feet (20 cubits) high, and 31 feet deep through. Both sides were covered with sculptures representing the *sed heb* festival in his XXIInd year. The processions of priests and officials which led up to the festival, the musicians and dancers, and the ceremonies before the shrines of

the gods were portrayed; but more than half has been destroyed, and the remainder is very fragmentary, though it gives the most complete view that we have of one of these great festivals (N.F.H.).

Near the ruins of the temple lay the upper half of a naos of red granite about 4 feet square (C. Mus. 674).

At Karnak were some door jambs from a chapel, now



FIG. 102.—Pylon of Uasarkon II.; Bubastis. N.F.H. xxxii.

in Berlin, found at 200 ft. south of the east end of the sacred lake (L.D.T. ii. 42).

At the temple of Osiris are many inscriptions of this king with his father and his daughter the great heiress Shapbenapt. At Luqsor is a long poem written on the temple walls, concerning a great inundation in the third year. From none of the monuments do we learn anything of the history of the reign, beyond a vague

statement that the Upper and Lower Retennu of Syria were subdued (N.B. 51). This seems to show that the wars of Sheshenq and Uasarkon I. were imitated later on; but probably a nominal tribute satisfied the feelings of the Egyptians. The great inundation on Tybi 12 would be 10th August in 876; extraordinarily early, as the earliest high Nile known about Thebes is 25th August in modern times.

Of the minor objects those of interest are the base of a royal figure naming feasts of 12 years; the aegis of bronze with Isis suckling the king; the gold ring with revolving beryl of green felspar, of Hormes a scribe of the palace library; and an alabaster vase with the king's name, given by the *wakil* of the palace gate, Nebneteru; later it was used as a sepulchral urn for Claudius a Roman. There is also part of another alabaster vase naming Uasarkon loved of Tahuti of Hermopolis, by the 3rd prophet Nes·pa·ra.

The main interest of the reign centres in the large family. The queen KARAMA constantly appears with the king in the scenes of the festival at Bubastis (N.F.H.); and she is named in the Osiris temple at Karnak (misread there as Ka·ro·za). A lazuli scarab appears to have been a new year gift to her son Sheshenq (F.P. Coll.). Her ushabtis were sold at Thebes as early as 1843 to Lepsius, and as late as 1887.

MEHTIENUSEKHT is stated by Horpasen to be a royal mother, and therefore presumably a royal wife; also to have married a great chief named Sheshenq. Now, as her son Namareth married a daughter of Uasarkon II., her generation would be that of Uasarkon, and it is presumable that she married Uasarkon, and was thus the royal mother of his second son Takerat II. The mothers of Uasarkon II. and Sheshenq II. are known elsewhere. The ushabtis of this queen are found at Thebes, and have been bought there by Lepsius in 1843 and by me in 1887, so her tomb also remains open. They are of precisely the same work, style, and colour as those of Karama, her fellow-queen. This would be quite inexplicable on the view

of the single line of the Horpasen genealogy, by which this queen would figure as the grandmother of Sheshenq I., more than a century earlier; but it exactly agrees with the double line of that genealogy which we have adopted.

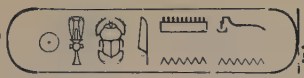
This chief Sheshenq whom Mehtienusekht married had a son Nemert who succeeded him, according to the genealogy of Horpasen, and married the daughter of Uasarkon II. A granite stele at Abydos gives a long inscription of this family (M.A. ii. 36; R.P. xii. 95; B.H. ii. 199). It records the great funeral endowments for Nemert made by his father Sheshenq, with the assent of Osiris. A seated figure in red granite, of a great chief Sheshenq, probably this person, is in Florence Mus. (S. Cat. F. 219, 1521). Brugsch's interpretation of these monuments as referring to Assyrian kings rested (1) on supposing Ma (which is short for Mashawash Libyans, see Rec. xxii. 10, 11) to be *matu*, "land," in Assyrian, and also (2) on the misreading of the Horpasen genealogy.

AST·EM·KHEBT appears to have been a later wife of Uasarkon II., by the canopic jars of their daughter Thesbastperu. This daughter married her nephew, a great chief Takeret, who was the son of prince Sheshenq who died young, and did not succeed his father Uasarkon. And their son was Peduast, who made Apis steles in 26th yr. of Shashenq III. and 2nd yr. of Pimay (Rec. xxii. 10).

MUT·HEZ·ANKHS is the wife of Uasarkon named in the genealogy of Horpasen as the mother of Thentspeh, who was a royal daughter, prophetess of Hathor at Henen·suten, and divine mother.

Of the children of this reign, the sons are noticed in the following reigns: the daughter of Karama named Amen·em·khnum·ab, Shap·ben·apt was the great heiress of the kingdom, and started the name which appears later in the XXVth dynasty. The other daughters of Karama only occur in the festival at Bubastis. The daughters of the other queens have just been noted above.

XXII. 5.

SHESHES·KHEPER·RA? SOTEP·EN·AMEN  ? before 856 B.C.

MERY·AMEN SHESHENQ (II.) 

Tell el Yehudiyeh, black granite		B. Mus.	(A.Z. x. 122).
Serapeum stele of Peduast		P. Mus.	(Rec. xxii. 10).
Stele	F. Mus.		(Berend, Cat. Flor. p. 77, 2577).
Bes figure	Alnwick Coll.		(B. A. Cat. 33).
Gold ring	B. Mus. 2928		(W.G. 556).
Lazuli scarab	F.P. Coll.		
Scarab	Migliarini Coll., Florence		(L. 22 Dyn. 274).
Queen—NESI·NEB·ASHERU.			
Bes	Alnwick		(B. A. Cat. 33).
Sons—			
Horsiast.			
Bes	Alnwick		(B. A. Cat. 33).
Takerat.			
Apis stele			(Rec. xxii. 10).
Uasarkon			
Papyrus			(Denon, Voy. 137).

There is nothing to show that this prince ever ruled alone, and his throne name is only said to occur on the Migliarini scarab, and faintly on the Florence stele. The scarab is perhaps like two others bearing the names of Sheshenq I. and Uasarkon I. joined, during their co-regency: the stele also may have been of Uasarkon I.; and thus there would be no evidence left for a throne name. The Tell el Yehudiyeh fragment is only a *ka* name *User·pehti*, and it was supposed to be of this king, because a piece with the name Sheshenq was found near it; but it might be equally of S. III. or IV., or perhaps of anyone else. The only objects that are certainly fixed, call him the great chief heir



FIG. 103.—Scarabs of Sheshenq II. and Takerat II. F.P. Coll.

of his majesty, the high priest of Amen. He was the son of Ka·ra·mat, as shown by the lazuli scarab. His son Takerat was great chief of the Mashawash, and married the half-sister of Sheshenq II., named Thesbastperu (Rec. xxii. 10). His son Horsiast is named with the wife Nesi·neb·asheru; and his son Uasarkon is known by a funeral papyrus (Denon, Voy. 137).

XXII. 6.

HEZ·KHEPER·RA, SOTEP·EN·RA  856–831 B.C.

MERY·AMEN, SI·AST, TAKERAT (II.) 

Bubastis	Block	Berlin	(B.T. 808; Berl. Cat. 8437).
Memphis	Slab with Apis steles		(M.S. p. 18).
Karnak	Forecourt. XIth yr. Tybi 1		(L.D. iii. 257 a).
,,	,, XIIth yr. Thoth 9		(L.D. 256 a).
,,	Great hall, architrave. XIth yr. Pakhons II.		(L.D. 255 i).
,,	Temple of Ptah, restored gate		(A.S. iii. 66).
,,	Stele of Takerat. XXVth yr.		(A.S. iv. 183).
,,	Quay. Vth yr.		(A.Z. xxxiv. 111, Nos. 3, 13).
Stele. IXth yr. about land		Cairo Mus.	(Rec. xviii. 53).
Stele with Hathor		Posno Coll.	(W.G. 556).

Great favourite—Kakat (Rev. A., N.S. viii. 9).

Daughters—

Ar·bast·uza·nef (M.D. 76, 77; Rev. A., N.S. viii. 9).

Thent Miramar statue (B.H.I. iv.).

This king became co-regent in his father's XXIIIrd year, as we learn from a Karnak quay inscription (13), which states that the XXVIIIth year of Uasarkon was the Vth year of Takerat.

No historical facts of this reign are recorded beyond

some frontier troubles before the XVth year (L.D. 256 a). The same inscription has often been asserted to contain a reference to an eclipse of the moon; but this is very doubtful. The passage of the text begins with XVth yr. Mesore 25, but that may not refer to the day of the eclipse, if there were one. The passage is altogether so doubtful that nothing can be built upon it (see Mahler, *Kais. Acad. Wien. Denksch.* liv. 1888).

The slab from Bubastis might as well be of Takerat I. At the Serapeum a slab with the cartouches of this reign is stated to have been found along with some steles dated in the year XIV. There is no proved connection between these; and we cannot judge what their connection may have been worth, in the lamentable absence of all systematic planning, reporting, or publication of the Serapeum work.

At Karnak are some much effaced inscriptions, one of which deals with the restoration of the offerings of Amen, and others with endowments and property. The small tablet of a land endowment (A.S. iv. 183) made for a deceased princess Karama, is dated in the XXVth year of Takerat; and that it refers to Takerat II. is shown by the high priest being Uasarkon, who is known as high priest in the XIth–XVth years (L.D. 255–57).

The great queen is not recorded; but a great favourite concubine named Kakat or Katkat was the daughter of a religious official at Thebes, Amenhotep, son of Bumather (Rev. A., N.S. viii. 9). The coffin of her royal daughter Ar·bast·uza·nef is in Paris; she had a son Pama who became vizier, and was succeeded by his son Pakharu, also vizier, who had a son Pa·ma (Rev. A. p. 10). We have thus—

	B.C. about
Bumather	940–880
Amenhotep	920–860
Takerat II. = Katkat	900–840
Pama, vizier	880–820
Pakharu, vizier	860–800
Pama	835–775

This Ar·bast·uza·nef must not be confused with another who was daughter of Rudamen (L.D. 284 a). There was also a royal daughter Thent, who married Pedumut, and had a son Takerat (B.H.I. iv.).

XXII. 7.
USER·MAAT·RA, SOTEP·EN·RA  837–786 B.C.

MERY·AMEN,
SI·BAST,
SHESHENQ (III.) 

Kom el Hisn	Block	(A.S. iv. 284).
Tanis	Pylon	(P.T. ii. 12, pl. ix.).
,,	Usurped granite columns.	
Tukh el Qarmus	Stele, yr. XX.	(Rec. xx. 85).
Serapeum	Stele, Peduast, yr. XXVIII.	(M.S. xxiv.; Rec. xxii. 10).
Karnak	Forecourt, yrs. XXII.–XXIX.	(L.D. 258 a, b).
,,	Quay, yrs. VI., XXXIX.	(A.Z. xxxiv. 113–14).
,,	Fragments, yrs. XIV., XXIII., XXXIX.	(Rec. xxii. 54–63).

Stele, Cairo, yr. XXXII. Tybi 1		(Rec. xxv. 196).
,, Strassburg, yr. XXX. Mesore 28		(Rec. xxv. 197).
,, hieratic, Berlin, yr. XXVIII.		(Berl. Cat. 7344).
Lazuli scarab in gold ring	P. Mus.	(P.L., S.H. 456).
Blue scarab	Stroganoff	(S.B.A. xiii. 35).
Dishes	Marseille	(W.G. 558).
Stone	Turin	(W.G. 558).

Queen—THENT·AMEN·APT Base F.P. Coll.

The principal work of this king was at Tanis; he cut to pieces the red granite colossus of Ramessu II., and built a pylon, part of which is still standing. He also built a lesser temple on the N.E. of the great temple; the granite columns of it have been engraved by Ramessu II.; but the cartouches are all altered to *Sheshenq si Bast*.

At Tukh el Qarmus was a stele, now in Cairo, with donations of lands in the XXth year. From the Serapeum the stele of Peduast in yr. XXVIII. has been already used for the genealogy in previous pages. At Karnak are long statements of endowments in the forecourt, with dates of yrs. XXII., XXV., XXVI., XXVIII., and XXIX. And on the quay are three inscriptions of yr. VI.; one (23) naming the high priest Horsiast whose statue was recently found at Karnak (C. Mus.), another (24) stating that the XIIth year of Horsiast was the VIth of Sheshenq, and a third (25) naming the high priest Takerat. It seems that 23 was put up normally; then, at the high Nile Horsiast died, so 24 was placed to show his pontificate; and 25 states the new pontiff. There is also No. 22 of yr. XXXIX. with high priest Uasarkon, who appears by a block at Karnak to have been a son of Takerat II. (Rec. xxii. 55).

The steles and small objects are not of any historic importance.

The base of a diorite statuette gives the name of Thent·amen·apt as the queen of a *Sheshenq mery Amen*; as the queens of S. I. and II. are known, and S. IV. is not called *mery Amen*, this is more probably of Sheshenq III. The inscription is by "the divine father of Amen·ra, the keeper of the . . . of Pharaoh (Amen·mery·Sheshenq), over the house of the queen, Amen·em·hat. Doing the things of the great chief queen of his majesty (Amen·apt·thent)" (F.P. Coll.).

XXII. 8. USER·MAAT·RA, SOTEP·EN·AMEN  786–782 B.C.

MERY·AMEN, PAMAY 

Serapeum	Stele of Peduast	P. Mus.	(M.S. xxvi. Rec. xxii. 11).	
,,	,, Horsiast	,,	(M.S. xxvii.; M.S. Ms. 165).	

Serapeum	Stele of Horkhebt	P. Mus.	(M.S. xxviii.).
,,	,, Khenem-Khonsu	,,	(Rec. xxi. 58).
	(All of the same Apis in yr. II.)		
Son—Sheshenq (IV.)			(M.S. xxx.; M.S. Ms. 168).

This reign is only known from the Serapeum steles. The first stele is important as stating that an Apis born in the yr. XXVIII. of Sheshenq III. lived 26 years and



FIG. 104.—Pamay, scene from stele of Serapeum. M.S. 26.

died in the yr. II. of Pamay, thus proving that Sheshenq III. reigned till his LIIIrd year, and that the co-regency of Pamay cannot exceed one year. The important genealogies of these steles we have used in previous reigns. The figures of the great chief of the Mashawash, Peduast, in the first two steles, both have the Libyan feather laid over the head, as we shall see later under Piankhy. The scarabs that have been attributed to Pamay really read *Hez Hor ma ten*, which is yet unexplained.

XXII. 9. AA·KHEPER·RA 

782–749 B.C.

SHESHENQ (IV.) 

Serapeum	Stele,	yr. IV.,	of Horuza	(M.S. xxix. d).
,,	Stele,	yr. XI. Paophi 28,	of Hor	(M.S. xxx. a).
,,	,,	XXXVII.,	of Horpasen	(M.S. xxxi.).
,,	,,	,,	of Pasenhor	(B.T. 999).
,,	,,	,,	of Naymart	(Rec. xxii. 16).
,,	,,	,,	Thoth Cairo Mus.	(W.G. 559).
,,	,,	,,	Athyr 27 P. Mus.	(W.G. 559).
,,	,,	,,	Payni 18 P. Mus.	(W.G. 559).
,,	,,	,,	three others P. Mus.	(W.G. 559).
Stele of yr. XIX., chief Hat henker				(Rec. xv. 84).
Scarabs, common.				

That this king was the son of Pamay appears from his stele of the XIth year (M.S. xxx. a). But nothing whatever is known of his history, and the only light about the reign is that a chief of the Mashawash still kept caravan routes open, as shown by a caravan leader Uashtihatau, who dedicated 5 *arouras* of land to Hathor in the name of his master, the great chief Hat henker. The king must have reigned at least 34 years, even if he began a co-regency in the IInd year of Pamay. Many objects of Amenhotep II. have been misattributed to this reign, as the cartouches are almost the same. The reason for the close of the dynasty



FIG. 105.—Scarab of Sheshenq IV. F.P. Coll.

is entirely lost; though we may conjecture that the Ethiopian conquest of Egypt, which took place some time before 728 B.C., may well have occurred at 749 B.C., and so have closed the continuity of the dynasty. There seems to be a revival of activities under the coming dynasty, for there is not one record of Nile level in this reign, while there are four records in about two-thirds of the time in the next reign. A stagnant feebleness seems to have overcome all effort.

The numerous monuments of this age found at Karnak will need to be taken into account; but as it is not safe to adopt statements of results without comparing the actual texts with other documents, I have not used more than I could verify of the summary just published (Rec. xxvii. 61–82). Some statements there may possibly need to be modified by the facts which we have considered.

TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY

MONUMENTS.	MANETHO.	YRS.	B.C. about
			755
Pedubast	Petubastes	25	
			730
Uasarkon (III.)	Osorkho	9	
			721
. . .	Psammos	10	

WE here again find a very close fit of the data within the possible limits of time. The previous dynasty must come down to 749 B.C. (unless we abandon the Assyrian eponym canon), and the 6 years of the next dynasty cannot be later than 721–715 B.C. The king Psammus is without any monumental support, and therefore may have been introduced by some confusion with the later Psamtek. The two other reigns have several monumental dates. Of Uasarkon there are the years V. and XIV., which would show at least 9 of independent reign, agreeing with Manetho; and his dates would then be—co-regent, 735; sole reign, 730–721. Then Pedubast must end at 730; and the 25 years (proved by inscriptions up to year XXIII.) would begin at 755. Thus he would overlap the last dynasty by 6 years; and as his earliest date is in year VII., this would be quite a possible reckoning.

XXIII. 1. SEHER·AB·RA  755–730 B.C.

AMEN·MERY, PEDU·BAST 

Karnak	Inscriptions of	yr.	VII.	(Rec. xxii. 51).
,,	,,	,,	VIII.	(Rec. xxii. 51, 52).
,,	Quay, No. 26	,,	XVI.	(A.Z. xxxiv. 114).
,,	,, No. 27	,,	XIX.	(,,).
,,	,, No. 28	,,	XIX. . . . ast	(,,).
,,	,, No. 29	,,	XXIII. Takerat	(,,).
Jamb of door of naos			P. Mus.	(M.P.E. 165).
Panel of naos			Bol. Mus.	

That there were two kings named Pedubast is certain ; one appears in Manetho as the founder of the XXIIIrd dynasty, about 760 B.C., the other is in the list of Ashurbanipal, nearly a century later. There are two throne names associated with the name Pedubast—

SEHER·AB·RA·	USER·MAAT·RA.
Naos. Paris and Bologna.	Bronze statue. Tanis.
	Figure of Hor. Cairo.

We can only infer which is the earlier of these. It was the first Pedubast certainly who ruled at Thebes, as his wall and quay inscriptions are exactly like those of the close of the XXIInd dynasty. The second Pedubast certainly reigned at Tanis, by Ashurbanipal's inscription. As the woodwork of Seherabra must have been preserved in Upper Egypt, while the figure of Usermaatra was found at Tanis, it seems fairly certain that Seherabra is the Theban Pedubast, and Usermaatra is the Tanite. To the latter belong also squatting figure of prince Hor (C. Mus.), the story of the Papyrus Rainer which refers to Tanis, and, it is said, a stele at Copenhagen (S.B.A. xxi. 265). There

is also perhaps a stele of a king Pedubast at Turin (L.T. 1575).

From the Karnak inscriptions we only learn of the inspections by divine fathers of Amen. On the quay we meet the name of apparently a co-regent, and intended successor, of Pedubast, a level being dated in the "year XVI. of king Pedubast, which is year II. of king *Amen mery Uaut.*" In the XIXth year the high priest of Amen is named ast; and in the year XXIII. his successor Takerat appears. It is probably this Takerat who is named on a donative of lands from Gurob. The high priest Nesi-horsiast is named in the VIIIth year (Rec. xxii. 52); and is probably the same as that of the XIXth year.



FIG. 106.—Pedubast, wooden naos. Bologna.

XXIII. 2.
AA·KHEPER·RA, SOTEP·EN·AMEN AMEN·MERY, UASARKON (III.)



730–721 B.C.

Memphis	Bronze decorations		C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 338).
Karnak	Stele	yr. X.		(A.Z. xxxv. 13).
Karnak	Quay, No. 16	,, V.	H.P. Ua·arath	(A.Z. xxxiv. 113).
,,	,, ,, 17	,, VIII.	Nesibanebdadu	(,,).
,,	,, ,, 18	,, XIV.	,,	(,,).

Karnak Quay, No. 19–21		(A.Z. xxxiv. 113).
Aegis, silver gilt	P. Mus.	(P.C.E. fig. 569, Engl. p. 314).
Glazed ring	L. Mus.	(L. Mon. i. 330, pl. xcvii.).
Leather tab	B.M. 7871 e	(W.G. 562).
Mother—TA DU BAST.	Aegis. P. Mus.	(P.C.E. fig. 569, p. 314 Engl.).
Sons—High priest Ua arath.	Karnak quay	(A.Z. xxxiv. 113).
,, ,, Nesibanebdadu	,,	(,,).
,, ,, ,,	Lazuli bead	(Hoffman Cat. 58).
Daughter—Shepenapt, mar. Kashta.		
	Statuette. E. Mus.	(G.E. p. 26).
	Stele. Turin, 1632	(L.T., No. 1632).

The cartouches of this king are known together only on the Leyden ring. From the quay inscriptions it seems that his elder son, who was high priest, died between the Vth and VIIIth years, and another son succeeded. The mother's name is on a silver gilt aegis of Bast, found at Bubastis, on which Uasarkon is called the son of Tadubast; and as the mothers of Uasarkon I. and II. are known, it shows that this is of Uasarkon III. The high priest and captain of the host, Ua·arath, had a son, Uasakuasa, who was high priest after Nesibanebdadu. An electrum pectoral of Uasakuasa, adoring Tahuti, names his father Ua·arath (F.P. Coll.). A lazuli bead of Nesibanebdadu was in the Hoffman Collection, No. 53. A long stele of the high priest Ua·arath, dated in the Xth yr. of Uasarkon, concerns land property, like most of the other documents of this age. The main family group in it is Aken and his seven sons. The statement in Manetho that Uasarkon was called Herakles is probably due to some confusion of his being high priest of Hershefi. That god was



FIG. 107.—Glazed ring of Uasarkon III.; Leyden. L. Cat. xcvii. 330.

worshipped at Herakleopolis, showing his identity with Herakles; and that city was a titular place of the greatest importance at that time.

Of Psammos, whom Manetho places at the end of this dynasty, no trace has been found, and it seems that the name may be a transposal of Psamtek.

In Manetho, according to Africanus, there is yet another king, Zēt. No explanation of this name has been given, except a guess that it may represent Kashta, though the Ethiopian could hardly be counted into this dynasty. If we venture on emendation, it may be supposed that a copyist of Africanus has misunderstood a summation of years at the end of this period. The rise of Saite power by the XXIVth dynasty would be a new order of things, like the close of the Ramessides before, and so a likely place for a total. Now ZHT might well be a corruption of Z Π T = 387 years; and from 721 B.C. this would lead back to 1108 B.C., while the end of the Ramessides is here reckoned at 1102 B.C. The inverse order of the numerals is the main objection to this interpretation, while the coincidence of the period is certainly attractive.



Fig. 108.—Electrum pectoral of Uasakauasa. F.P. Coll.

Before passing from this age we should note some unplaced local kings.

User·maat·ra amen·rud. Rock crystal vase, with cartouches, in the Louvre (P.R. ii. 80), said to be a son of a king Uasarkon, probably the IIIrd (Rec. xix. 20), and to be the father of king Pef-dudu-bast of Henensuten (L.D. iii. 284 a).

Amen mery hor siast. Coffin of a daughter, at Abydos (R.M.A. xli.). A daughter Asturt married Horsiast, a son of the third prophet of Amen Nekh-

tefmut, and had a daughter Takhenemsuart (Q.R. xxiv. 4, xxv. 3). This was probably a Theban ruler, and not the same as Horsiast of Sebennytos under Esarhaddon. The Karnak discoveries place him as co-regent with Uasarkon II., see Rec. xxvii., table, p. 76, and here, p. 247.

. . . MERY·TAUI, PEN·AMEN, is on a slab at Terraneh (N.Y. xx. 13), probably, therefore, a western Delta king.

THE ETHIOPIAN DOMINION.

In dealing with the age of the control of Egypt by the Ethiopian kings of Napata, it is best to regard their power as a whole; overlapping at first the age of the Bubastites that we have already noticed, and overlapping at last the rise of the Saite princes who formed the XXVIth dynasty. The XXIVth dynasty, of only 6 years of Bakenranf, was a brief rebellion in the midst of three generations of the Ethiopian Dominion.

Before going further it is necessary to disentangle the various kings named Pankhy. It has been supposed with some reason that this name among the kings who worshipped Amen at Napata was derived from the earlier Piankh, the second of the priest-king dynasty at Thebes. He was not, however, at all prominent in the series, no one was named after him in that dynasty, and his name is written Piankh, whereas the Ethiopians are all Pankhy. These points show that the descent of the name, and therefore of the family, is not certain.

Those kings historically known are—

(1) Pankhy Mery Amen, of the conquest stele (M.D. 1–6).

(2) Pankhy, mar. Amenardus. Statue. Petersburg (G.E. 220).
,, Statue. Med. Habu (G.F. viii.).

(3) Pankhy (?), at Thebes under Esarhaddon. Assyrian Annals.

Those whose other names are known are—

(4) Usermaatra Pankhy Mery·Amen Si·Bast. Architraves. Barkal (L.D. v. 14 a–f).
,, with wife Kenensat. Bronze statuette of Bast. P. Mus. (P.R. i. 44).

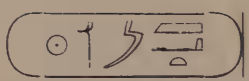
(5) Hor Sehotep·taui Pankhy. Altar. Barkal (L.D. v. 14 h).

(6) Snefer-ra Pankhy. Altar to Mut. Meraueh (L.D. v. 14 l).
,, bandage, yr. XX. or more. B. Mus. (G.F. viii.).

(7) Pankh Aruro (about 570 B.C.) on Nastosenen stele (S.A.K. 26; L.D. v. 16).

The supposed Men·kheper·ra Pankhy (Pr. M. iv.; M.K. 45 d), whose name has been erased all but *y*, is, lastly, read as Ra·meny by Maspero (Ms. M. 762).

The connection of the historical kings with the throne names is curiously unfixed. All we can say is that Pankhy I. is most likely to have made great works at Napata (Barkal), and so is probably the same as 4. But the connection of 2 and 3 with 5 and 6 seems entirely unsettled: 5 may be the same as either 4 or 6; 7 is later than the connection with the Egyptian kingdom.

USER·MAAT·RA  about 748–725 B.C. or later.

PANKHY (I.), MERY·AMEN, SI·BAST. 

Barkal. Stele.	C. Mus.	(M.D. 1–6).
,, Lintels		(L.D. v. 14 a–f).
Bronze figure of Bast.	P. Mus.	(P.R. i. 44).
Bronze-door hinge	C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 263).
Queen—KENENSAT		(P.R. i. 44).

The first and most important monument of this age is the great triumphal stele of grey granite erected by

Pankhy at Napata, now Gebel Barkal, the capital of the Ethiopians; this block (in Cairo Mus.) is 6 feet in height and in width, and is inscribed on both faces and edges with 159 lines of text. The text is published in *Mon. Div.* 1–6; and translated in *Rec. Past*, ii. 81; Brugsch, *Hist.* ii. 231; and Griffith, *Egyptian Literature*, p. 5275. We shall use it for three subjects: (1) the divisions and political state of Egypt; (2) the various rulers; (3) the events it records.

In the XXIst year of Pankhy he was summoned by the rulers of Middle and Upper Egypt to repel the advances of the westerners under Tafnekht; and allegiance to Pankhy had been thrown off at least as far south as Hermopolis, in Mid Egypt. It is clear,



FIG. 109.—Top of Granite stele of Pankhy. M.D. 1.

then, that Pankhy had in some former campaign overrun the upper country, probably as far as Memphis, as Oxyrhynkhos appears to have sided with him; but there is no sign of his power over the Delta. As this stele is of the XXIst year of Pankhy, and is of the time of Uasarkon III., the earlier conquest may well have resulted in Pankhy overthrowing the XXIInd dynasty at the beginning of his reign.

The DIVISIONS of the Delta were many. We find two kings, one at Bubastis and the other perhaps at the Bitter Lakes; four Libyan chiefs who wear feathers, at Mendes, Sebennytos, Pa·sopd, and Busiris; two of whom had split off Hermopolis and Xois for their sons; a royal heir at Athribis; and chiefs at Busiris,

Leontopolis, Letopolis, and Sais; also two others without districts named. Beside all these, the latest branch of the westerners who came in held all the Libyan desert side under a chief. Thus there were sixteen rulers in the Delta. In Upper Egypt there was a king at Hermopolis, a *haq* prince at Herakleopolis, and a prince ruling from the Fayum down to Cairo. The country, thus divided, was at the mercy of any vigorous outsider, either western or Ethiopian.

The RULERS of Egypt in this record, of whom actual remains are known, are as follow:—

UASARKON of Bubastis (*see* UASARKON III., before).

USER·MAAT·RA AMEN·MERY
AMEN·MERY SI·BAST UAPETH } of Thent·remu and Ta·ain·ta.

This king certainly ruled at Tell el Yehudiyeh, where a granite base was found, with the double cartouches, and figures of the king offering (N.Y. 10, pl. 1). A peculiarity of his first cartouche is in placing the A of Amen symmetrical with the feather of Maat; hence we may attribute some scarabs to him (3 F.P. Coll.). The cities of his have not been identified. It has been suggested that Ta·ain·ta was the port of Daneon at the Red Sea end of the canal, and so close to Suez (Pliny, vi. 33). Or it might be read as "the land of Ain" or Heroopolis-Pithom.

NEFER·KA·RA
PEF·DUDU·BAST SI·BAST } of Henen·suten.

The full names of this king have lately been found on the inscribed base of a gold statuette of Hershefi, from the temple of Henen·suten (Ehnasya) (P.E. pl. 1). He was son of king Rudamen (L.D. iii. 284 a), who took the name Usermaatra (vase, P. Mus.; P.R. ii. 80), and who was son of king Uasarkon (Rec. xix. 20). Possibly Uasarkon III. was born 790 B.C., Rudamen

770, Pefdudubast 750 B.C., and so reigned by 725 in the reign of his grandfather.



FIG. 110.—Gold statuette made by Pefdudubast. P.E. i.

UAS·NETER·RA SOTEP·EN·RA
SHESH(ENQ) AMEN·UAS·NETER·AN (?)
} of Busiris.

A double cartouche pendant of bronze bears these names (F.P. Coll.); and probably of the same king is the piece of bronze scale armour, with scales inscribed RA·NETER AMEN-MERY SHESHENQ (Pr. M. xlvi. 3; W.M.C. i. 221). As this name cannot be that of any Sheshenq from I. to IV., it is prob-



FIG. 111.—Bronze cartouches of Sheshenq V. F.P. Coll.

able that the ruler who made these objects was this prince of Busiris. We cannot distinguish which Busiris this is. Possibly to the same prince may belong the base of a statuette from Bubastis (A.Z. xxii. 93).



Fig. 112.—Scarab of Ankh·hor. F.P. Coll.

MAAT·NEB·RA
ANKH·HOR } of Hermopolis Parva.

These two names are found conjoined on a scarab of this period (F.P. Coll.), and probably belong to Ankh·hor, the ruler of Hermopolis, after he succeeded his father as prince of Mendes.

PA·MA of Busiris.

Scarabs of this ruler are well known, with the inscription, "The hereditary prince, prophet of Osiris, Lord of Dadu, great chief, Pa·ma," agreeing with his titles, "Hereditary chief of the Masha-wash Pa·ma in the temple of Osiris lord of Dadu," on the stele.

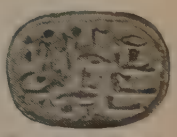


Fig. 113.—Scarab of Pa·ma. F.P. Coll.

The remaining rulers are—

Zed·amen·auf·ankh	Libyan prince of Mendes.
Aakanesh	Libyan prince of Sebennytos, Iseum, Diospolis (statue of Osiris dedicated by him. C. Mus. Rec. xvi. 126).
Pathenef	Libyan prince of Pasopd, El 'Awasgeh, near Faqus (Rec. x. 142).
Bakennefi, his son	Nesna·sekhem·aa, Xois.
Nekht·hor·na·shenu	of Leontopolis.
Pentaur	. . .
Penth	,, Bekent (near Mit Ghamr).
Pedu·hor·sam·taui	,, Letopolis.
Hurobasa	,, Sais and Rohessaui (near Letopolis).
Peduast	,, Athribis.
Zedzedau	,, Khentnefer.
Pabasa	,, Babylon, Nilopolis (opp. Fayum).
Nemart	,, Hermopolis (Eshmuneyn).

The EVENTS recorded by Pankhy are that, at the beginning of a year, messengers came from the tribal

chiefs, the provincial nomarchs, and the generals of Upper Egypt, repeatedly appealing to him to come and defend them from Tafnekht, the chief of the West, who owned the nomes of the western Delta up to Memphis. Both banks of the Nile (*taui*) were united in following him. The Upper Egyptian nomes of Medum and Illahun, the Fayum, Oxyrhynkhos, Diknash, and all the western towns had then submitted to him. From there he had crossed to the east, and Hipponon, Tayuzayt, Hat·suten and Aphroditopolis also submitted. Secure in these towns, he had then attacked Henen·suten, which held out against him, not probably from any special loyalty to Pankhy, but because Pefdudubast might well hope to be himself a leader of that region. Even Nemart of Hermopolis (Eshmuneyn) had joined the movement.

Pankhy himself ruled Thebes, and he sent down an army, with special orders to reverence Thebes, and to proceed from that as a base. Below Thebes they found troops from the north coming up the river. These were defeated, and they pressed on to Henen·suten, which was besieged. There the Ethiopian army defeated the northern alliance, and Nemart fled up to Eshmuneyn, where they besieged him. Pankhy was, however, enraged at the escape of the rebels, and vowed to destroy them himself. His army pushed their successes, took Oxyrhynkhos, Tatehen (Tehneh ?), where the son of Tafnekht was slain, and Hipponon (El Heybeh).

On the ninth day of the new year, Pankhy arrived at Thebes, and kept the great feast of Amen. Thence he went to Eshmuneyn, and pitched S.W. of it. An active siege was pushed on, and in three days it capitulated. All kinds of valuables were offered. Nemart's wife, who was a royal daughter, Nestentmeh, went to beseech the *harim* of Pankhy to intercede. Nemart himself came out with valuable offerings, then Pankhy entered Hermopolis, offered sacrifices in the temple of Thoth, and took possession of the whole palace of Nemart, women, horses, and treasures, while

the grain stores were sent to Amen at Thebes. His main indignation was about the starving of the horses.

Then Pefdudubast of Henen-suten, who had been holding out for Pankhy, came to offer treasures and horses, and thank the king for saving him; and the city appears to have been left in peace. Passing there, Pankhy found a strong fort at Illahun, and appealed to the garrison to save their lives by submission. Another son of Tafnekht was among them; but they opened the gates, their lives were spared, and all the stores and treasures were systematically taken for Pankhy and Amen. The same treatment was given to Medum and Lisht.

Memphis refused all the offers of Pankhy, and his appeal to the examples of his clemency to other rebels. The gates were closed, and Tafnekht threw himself into the city at night, to encourage the defence, the army amounting to eight thousand men. He then left to bribe the chiefs of the Delta to come up and join the war. Pankhy sailed past Memphis, and examined the great limestone fortifications on the northern side. It was in April, and the Nile would have been low; but it is said that the water came up to the road below the walls, and the ships were moored there. This suggests that they had a system of dams to keep the Nile high at Memphis for the shipping. The city being closed, Pankhy made a raid on all the ships and boats; this prevented the enemy reaching him, and provided plenty of material. He then made a great attack by scaling along the river face, which suggests that the ships captured were worked up into landing bridges to top the river walls. Memphis was taken at once, many were slain, and others made prisoners. Pankhy next sacrificed in the temple of Ptah, and went to the palace. The neighbourhood submitted, and some of the chiefs of the eastern Delta came in with tribute.

Pankhy then went to Babylon (Old Cairo) and made offerings, and next to Heliopolis, where he made a great sacrifice; and, entering the temple, went to the shrine and saw Ra alone. Uasarkon of

Bubastis then came "to see the beauties of his majesty."

Athribis was next visited, and a great durbar was held there of all the Delta rulers, "kings, nomarchs of the Delta, all chiefs wearing the feather, every vizier, all chiefs, and every royal acquaintance," in the west and in the east, and in the central districts between the arms of Nile. The hereditary chief Peduast welcomed the king, and placed all his treasures and stores at his disposal. After Pankhy had made offerings in the temple, he then went to the palace and received the presents; and Peduast swore that none of the chiefs should conceal property from the king. Thus all the Delta princes submitted and gave tribute. One place was yet rebellious, but was soon subdued and given to Peduast.

Tafnekht, hearing of this collapse of all his plans, sent after a year a message of submission, and an offer to give up whatever was demanded. So the chief lector and commander were sent to receive the goods, and to administer the oath of allegiance. The whole land being pacified, Pankhy loaded his spoils on board and returned to Thebes in triumph.

This document is as valuable for the view of mind as for its material facts. The rage at opposition, which the earlier conquerors showed as their single emotion, is here more a literary phrase than a moving power. Of course war was war, as it is to this day; but the terms which Pankhy offered and acted upon to those cities which were in opposition were personal pardon with heavy fines in goods, confiscating all the stores. To those who fought against him, capture was the penalty of defeat. Those who submitted freely were pardoned on giving a voluntary tribute. Even the ringleader Tafnekht was accepted after a time, on his swearing allegiance and giving tribute. All this is very different to the rage of a Rameses. Pankhy appeals to his enemies, "If a moment passeth without opening to me, behold ye are reckoned as conquered, and that is painful to the king. Close not the gates

of your life, so as to come to the execution block of this day. . . . Behold ye, there are two ways before you, choose ye as ye will ; open, and ye live ; close, and ye die. . . . His majesty loveth that Memphis be safe and sound, and that even the children weep not." The clemency and good-feeling shown throughout marks a very different state to that of many earlier and later times. This was not isolated ; there was a general wave of moral sense and individual responsibility in lands around ; in Isaiah and Ezekiel on the east, and in Hesiod on the west, with his preaching of the moral government of the world, and his pure and practical ethics. This phase is quite independent of other points of excellence. Moral sense, knowledge, art, and luxurious wealth may each stand isolated from the other three, as in the instances of the Puritans, the Jesuits, early Greece, and decadent Rome. The Puritan phase of these Ethiopians is seen also in the sentences, "none were slain therein except the rebels who had blasphemed God," the kings "entered not the king's house for that they were impure and eaters of fishes, which is an abomination to the king's house." And rather later a king "went in state to the temple of his father Amen of Napata, residing in Du-uab to expel that sect hateful unto God, which they call, 'Do not cook, let violence kill,' saying, 'Let not them enter the temple of Amen of Napata because of that word, a sin it is to tell it'" (R.P. iv. 95).

This Pankhy is probably identical with User·maat·ra Pankhy who built largely at Napata (Mt. Barkal, 18½° N.). A bronze figure of Bast (P. Mus.) has on the back pillar the two names of the king, and on the base the name of the "Heiress, great favourite, royal wife, Kenensat" (Pr. R. i. 44).

The next king of Ethiopia that we hear of is Kashta, and the dates would well agree to his being of a likely age for a son of Pankhy. Before going further, we should lay down the table of family ages, starting from known data, and showing how far such will fit together into a consistent family history. We have no personal

dates for Pedubast ; but as he started a new line he must have had some proved ability and character, and can hardly be put at less than about 35 years old, implying that he was born not later than 790 ; and he is not likely to have been over about 80 at death, implying that he was not born before 800. So 800 would be a fair date for his birth.

Shabaka was acting regent in 725, and is not likely to have been born later than, say, 748 ; Kashta therefore would be born 770, and Pankhy—if his father—born 792. This would make him about 40 to 50 at succession, 60 to 70 at his Egyptian war. He is not likely to have been older, nor is Shabaka likely to have been younger. So this fairly ties the family ages. The latest summing up of the relationships is by Erman (A.Z. xxxv. 29), and this seems fully satisfactory ; only that there is no need to assume so many adoptions, as natural descent is more probable at the ages in question, as we shall see. The references for the relationships are here given under each reign.

Kashta = Pebathma
|
Pankhy = Paksather

(See Rec. xxii. 142.)

800 **Pedubast** born

778[22] birth of **Uasarkon**

755[45] succeeded

756[22] birth of **Shapenapt I.**

737[19] mar. Kashta

736 Amenardus b.

730[70] *died* [48] succeeded

721[57] *died*

792 **Pankhy I.** born

770[22] birth of **Kashta**

748[44] succeeded

728[64] in Egypt

748[22] Shabaka born

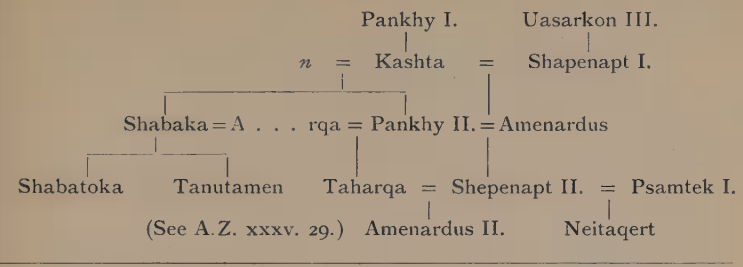
744[26] Pankhy II. born

737[33] mar. Shapenapt **Pankhy II.**

722[22] Taharqa born

married

702[42] Amenardus



748 **Shabaka**

736 **Amenardus**

726^{22} birth of **Shabatoka** Pankhy 22 at

725^{23} acting regent 722 **Taharqa** born

720^{16} m. Shabaka ^{28} married

718^{30} Tanutamen born 718 **Tanutamen**

715^{33} succeeded born

707^{41} *died* ^{19} succeeded

702^{34} mar. Pankhy 701^{21} general

700^{36} **Shapenapt II.** born

693^{33} *died* ^{29} succeeded

680^{20} Shapenapt mar. 680^{42} mar. Shapenapt II.

679^{21} Amenardus II. born

667^{55} *died* ^{51} succeeded

KASHTA  about 725 to 715 B.C.

Abydos, as father of Peksather		(Rec. xxii. 142).
Hammamat, as father of Amenardus		(L.D. v. 1 e).
Scarab, with Amenardus.		
Queens—		
PEBATHMA	Abydos lintel	(Rec. xxii. 142).
SHAPENAPT I.	Petersburg fig.	(G.E. p. 26).
Sons—		
Shabaka, bro. Amenardus		(M.K. 45 d).
Pankhy, bro. Amenardus		(A.Z. xxxv. 28).
Daughters—		
Amenardus	Hammamat	(L.D. v. 1 e).
Peksather	Abydos lintel	(Rec. xxii. 142).

Nothing is known of the reign of this king, who seems to have been a co-regent of Pankhy, and his relationship to Pankhy I. is only conjectural. As Shabaka must have been born by about 748 (for he was regent in 725, and father of Shabatoka), Kashta was probably born by 770. And as Pankhy I. invaded Egypt about 728, in his XXIst year, he must have succeeded about 748; so though it is possible that Pankhy I. was an elder brother, he is more likely to have been the father of Kashta. No independent monuments of his are found; so that it seems likely that he was co-regent, or only came to the throne shortly before his death. That he actually reigned as king of Egypt is implied by Amenardus often coupling his name with hers as her father, which implies an inheritance of his rights over the land. And that Egypt did submit to the Ethiopians at this period is seen by the embassy of Hoshea, which was some years before the accession of Shabaka, and when he was only general or regent. For remains of Shapenapt see under Uasarkon III.

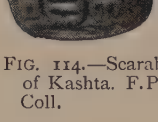
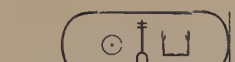


FIG. 114.—Scarab of Kashta. F.P. Coll.

NOFER·KA·RA  715–707 B.C.

SHABAKA 

Kouyunjik	Impression of seal B. Mus.	(Layard, Nin. and Bab. 156).
Bubastis	Sistrum handle Berl. 8182	(A.Z. xxi. 23).
Athribis	Limestone frieze Cairo Mus.	(Ms. G. 381).
Memphis	Ptah temple, Mythological text, B. Mus.	(A.Z. xxxix. 40).
	Scarab Cairo	(M.D. 29 d).
	Avenue, in demotic papyrus	(Rev. E. i. 126, note, l. 27).
Serapeum	Apis, year II. stele	(M.S. p. 26).
Hammamat	Inscrip., year XII.	(L.D. v. 1 e).
Karnak	Temple of Ptah, door	(L.D. v. 1 a; L.D.T. ii. 6; Berl. Cat. 2103; A.S. iii. 43, 59).
,,	Chapel b, N. of temple of Ptah	(M.K. 45 c, d).
,,	Jambs (Ptah?)	(L.D. v. 1 b).
,,	Great temple, added to Tahutmes IV.	(L.D. iii. 69 d).
,,	Quay, year II., etc. Nos. 30–32	(A.Z. xxxiv. 114).
Luqsor	Pylon, added inscription	(C.M. 337).
Medinet Habu	Small temple, inner pylon	(L.D. v. 1 c, d; L.D.T. ii. 150, 152).
,,	,, both pylons	(L.D.T. ii. 150, 151).
Esneh	Black granite shrine. C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 170).

Portrait	(L.D. iii. 301, 79).
Statuette, white limestone. Anastasy Coll.	(R.S. 151, 4).
Beryl figure, Osiris. Villa Albani	(Rec. ii. 29).
Naos, black granite. Cairo.	
Papyri demotic, VII. yr. P. Mus.	(D.M.E. xi. 10 c).
,, X. yr. Pharmuthi 30	(R.Q.T.D. p. 221).
Gold amulet. P. Mus., stolen.	(Champoll. Not. Mus., Charles, x. 59).
Queens—AMENARDUS, Karnak	(M.K. 45 c, d).
And a daughter of Pankhy	(R.P. i. 64; Ms. P.E. 362 i).

Son by *x*, Shabatoka (?)

The facts of this reign are only put in any order by the eastern connections. On the one hand, the acces-

sion of Shabaka to the throne must have been about 715 B.C.; yet he was acting as regent, and is entitled king of Egypt as early as 725 B.C., acting for either Pankhy I. or Kashta. This connection of Shabaka with Sua, king of Mizraim (2 Kings xvii. 4), has been disputed of late years; and it will be needful to briefly state the case. Various references that have been found connecting Mizraim or Muzri with N. Arabia have been set apart as constituting evidence for a land of Muzri (in Sinai) coterminous with Mizraim (Egypt). This would be at least a unique occurrence of two names side by side and coterminous, and yet supposed to be intrinsically different (Map in *Encyc. Bib.* pl. 4844–5). Several of the passages supposed to refer to a new Muzri may just as well apply to Egypt, the frontier of which stretched across the desert into South Palestine at many periods, and certainly in the XXth, XXIInd, and XXVIth dynasties. Some few passages may require to be referred to Sinai; but we must remember that Sinai was part of the Egyptian kingdom in the Ist dynasty, and contains monuments down to the XXth dynasty. It would be quite likely that such a portion of the Egyptian kingdom should be called "Egypt"—Mizraim or Mizri; much as Bohemia is Austria, or Brittany is France. There is no ground for assigning an important kingdom with conquering rulers to the almost uninhabitable desert. The recent defence of the view of an independent Musri (*Hibbert Journal*, April 1904) does not contain a single instance of the name which is incompatible with the frontier district of the Egyptian kingdom in Sinai. The strongest instance, that of Tiglath Pileser III. appointing a resident over Musri, comes just when the XXIInd dynasty had been shattered by the Ethiopians, and amid the host of chiefs who shared the provinces of Egypt, one or two on the eastern side, in Sinai or the isthmus, may well have submitted to their eastern neighbour. The phrase, "the *borders* of Musur which lies beside Melukhkha," is quite natural; the *frontier* of the Egyptian power in Sinai

which joined on to Arabia is a perfectly sound expression. We are told that "Egypt is Egypt . . . as England is England"; but this declamation ignores that Egypt included Sinai, and "England" usually includes Wales, and often Scotland as well.

Facts are what we alone consider in this History, without giving weight to the opinions that may have been based on those facts. But if any may hesitate at setting aside the bold assertions of the Jerahmeelite writers of the *Encyc. Biblica*, they may refer in that work to the conjectural emendations on *Shishak*, where the contemporary records are entirely ignored, and the treatment is uncritical and unhistorical.



Fig. 115.—Shabaka. L.D. iii. 300.

That Shabaka asserted his authority over the whole Delta is shown by the Greek account of his bringing a large army and overthrowing the Delta prince Bakenranf, who had arisen to dispute the Ethiopian supremacy. There is no evidence that the possession of Egypt by Pankhy I. had ever been resigned, or interrupted, except by the semi-independent Libyan princes of the Western Delta, Tafnekht and Bakenranf; and we can only suppose that Shabaka acted as enforcing the old rights of his family. His power was so evident that Hoshea in 725 B.C. "had sent messengers to Sua, king of Egypt, and brought no present to the king of Assyria as year by year" (2 Kings xvii. 4). This led to the three years' siege of Samaria, which fell in 722 B.C. Shabaka must have been acting as regent for Kashta or Pankhy; much as in earlier times regents had ruled Ethiopia for the Theban kings.

The next movement of Sargon the Assyrian after the capture of Samaria was to push onward to the west in

720 B.C., and attack Hanun of Gaza and Sibe the Tartan of Muzri. Here Shabaka is correctly accounted as commander-in-chief in Egypt, but not king. The result was the capture of Gaza, and the flight of Hanun and Shabaka to Rapiku, or Raphia on the road to Egypt, where they were defeated. Thus Egypt lost all hold in Palestine. The question of whether Sua or Seva of 2 Kings is the Sibe of Sargon's annals, is not doubted on any side. And after the ineffectual attempts to prove the existence of two different Mizri lands side by side, we must agree that Sua or Sibe named as king of Mizraim, or more accurately, commander-in-chief of Muzri, is exactly in the position of Shabaka, so that we cannot reasonably doubt their identity. The only serious objection is that though the Hebrew Sua or the Assyrian Sibe are easily equivalent, yet Shabaka has *Sh* in place of *S* and a radical ending in *ka*. When we look at the origin of the name (according to Brugsch) this difference is immaterial. The present Nubian for the male wild cat is *Sab*, and *ki* is the article post-fixed. Hence in popular talk it is very likely that the king was known as Sab or Shab, just as the hieroglyphic name Pilak lost its article in the common mouth and became Philæ (B.H. ii. 274).

After this, Shabaka succeeded to the Ethiopian throne, and died after eight years' reign, according to Africanus. Of this period we have no historical connection, and Egypt seems to have abandoned all hopes in Asia.

The most northern remains of Shabaka are a clay impress of a seal found at Nineveh, a sistrum handle from Bubastis, and the frieze of a shrine from Athribis. On both of these latter his cartouche is side by side with that of *Ra-uah-ab*, which has been accepted as that of Psamtek I., though no reason can be given for associating the name of a dead king of another line with that of a new ruler. As there were certainly two kings with this cartouche, Psamtek I. and Haa-ab-ra, it is not surprising if an ancestor of Psamtek had used it also before them, for double cartouches were taken

by this family even further back, by Tafnekht. We should therefore take these as contemporary remains of Shabaka and his vassal Uah·ab·ra, a descendant of Tafnekht who ruled over the Delta.

At Memphis there was probably serious work after the siege by Pankhy. The recopying of a long mythological text shows that there was wealth and leisure for religious affairs. At the Serapeum was an Apis burial in year II., recorded by one small stele roughly written in ink, and not published in facsimile. At Hammamat is a quarry record by a chief of Kush named Psenkhonsu, dated in the XIIth year; but as we do not know how early Shabaka was associated as viceroy in Egypt, this date is uncertain. As Amenardus is named as high priestess, it is probably as late as 720–715; and as Kashta is not named *maa·kheru* he was probably alive, and so this is not within the 8 years of sole reign of Shabaka. If he were co-regent at the age of 21 in 727, his XIIth year would be in 716, before Kashta's death, and when Amenardus was 20.



FIG. 116.—Scarab of Shabaka. F.P. Coll.

At Karnak this Amen-worshipping king is mainly known by his work on the temple of Ptah, where Shabaka built a court, the gate of which is inscribed by him (M.K. plan i.). The small chapel just north of this temple, built in this reign (M.K. 45 c, d), contained the beautiful alabaster statue of Amenardus. The only dated high Nile record is of the second year. At Luqsor, Shabaka added some figures of himself and the gods on the doorway of the pylon. At Medinet Habu he built a pylon in front of the temple of Tahutmes III.

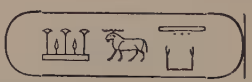
to which the side walls of the court were added later (D.M.H. 10). The minor objects are not of importance. Many large coarse pottery beads are known with his name; also a large ram-headed scarab and various other scarabs and cartouches.

Although there is no absolute proof that Amenardus was married to Shabaka, yet as she was his sister (and sister marriages were the rule in this dynasty) and as her name appears side by side with his (L.D. v. 1 e; M.K. 45 c), it is almost certain that the heir of the kingdom secured the "great heiress." We deal more fully with her below. That Shabatoka was a son of Shabaka is indicated by his name, the syllable *to* or *ato* meaning "son," and being inserted in its grammatical place before the article *ka* or *ki*. He cannot have been a son of Amenardus, by his age in the family history. Another son of Shabaka was Tanutamen, whose descent is stated on a cylinder of Ashurbanipal; and as Tanutamen was son of Taharqa's wife, according to another cylinder, it is clear that Taharqa married the widow of Shabaka; not, however, Shapenapt II., as she was not even born at the death of Shabaka.

A stele of the reign records a priestess Mentkhunefertu, and her son Ameny (C. Mus.).

DAD·KAU·RA 

707–693 B.C.

SHABATAKA 

Memphis	Green basalt statue	(M.D. 29 e; A.Z. xxxvi. 15).
Serapeum	End of cartouche painted	(M.S. p. 27).
Karnak	Temple of Osiris	(Rec. xxii. 125).
,,	Chapel S.E. of sacred lake	(L.D. v. 3, 4; L.D.T. ii. 40 . .).

Karnak	Quay, No. 33, yr. III.	(A.Z. xxxiv. 115; xl. 124).
Portrait		(L.D. iii. 301).
Bronze shrine	B. Mus., No. 26 a	(W.G. 585).
Limestone bowl, fragment	F.P. Coll.	
Glass heart, pottery bead	F.P. Coll.	
Plaques with feathers, scarabs.		

Confusion has been brought into the study of this age by a forged stele at Turin; the relation between the personages shown there has no foundation. The only facts known about Shabataka are that he reigned 12 years, and that the family history shows that he must have acceded to the throne at about 20, and died at rather over 30. Not a single fact of his history is recorded. It seems not improbable that he was only the viceroy of Lower and Middle Egypt, which he may have ruled while his aunt Amenardus held Thebes, and his uncle Pankhy II. reigned at Napata.



FIG. 117.—Shabataka. L.D. iii. 300.

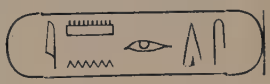
The statue found at Memphis has a resemblance to some of the statues of Khafra: this suggests that it is one of the statues of Khafra reworked on the sides of the throne, though the opposite conclusion has been drawn, that such statues of Khafra are all of late date. At the Serapeum, in the Apis chamber of Shabaka, there remained the end of a cartouche kau, probably of this reign.

At Karnak the façade of the temple of Osiris was carved by Shabatoka with the usual scene of Amen giving a sword to the king (Rec. xxii. 125). A small

single-chamber chapel existed at nearly 200 ft. south of the east side of the sacred lake; part of it is now in Berlin. It seems to have been rebuilt upon the remains of a chapel of Ramessu III., and contained most that is known of the work of this reign. The quay inscription, No. 33, records a high Nile of 20 cubits 2 palms, on the coronation day in the IIIrd year; this is dated to Pakhons 5; and in 704 B.C. this fell on October 17 (A.Z. xl. 125). This is a very possible date, as the maxima of 1859 and 1862 were even later.

Of small objects the small bronze shrine with figure of Amen is the best (B. Mus.), and there are several plaques, scarabs, and beads with this name.

MUT·KHA·NEFERU 

AMEN·ARDUS 

Memphis	Bronze plaques	(A.S. iii. 142).
Hammamat	Inscription	(L.D. v. 1 e).
Karnak	Chapel b, N. of temple of Ptah	(M.K. 45 c, d).
,,	Alabaster statue, chapel b	(M.K. 45 e; M.A.B. 35).
,,	,, smaller	(Allemant Cat. 176).
,,	Piece of alabaster vase A. Mus. 35	(W. G. 589).
,,	Temple of Osiris	(Rec. xxii. 126, 127; xxiv. 209, 210).
Medinet Habu	Chapel	(Rec. xxiii. 4; D.M.H. 29).
Thebes	Cone of official	(M.A.F. viii. 297).
Aswan	Rock inscription	(P.S. ix. 263).

Statue, grey granite	B. Mus. 36440.	
Altar of offering	C. Mus.	(W.G. 589).
Bronze door pivot	B. Mus. 36301.	
Serpentine vase	B. Mus. 4701.	
Stone fragment	Berl. Mus. 2107.	
Ushabtis, brown serpentine	F.P. Coll.; P. Mus.	(P.L. 223).

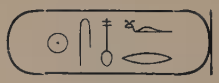
Osiris, granite	Sabatier Coll.	(Rec. xiv. 55).
Alabaster vase	B. Mus. 24709.	
Glazed roll	B. Mus. 29212.	
Scarabs, many.		

Amenaru	Coffins	B. Mus. 6688, 6689.	
Amenrua	(Same as previous?) diorite statue	P. Mus. A. 85	(G.F. ii. ix.).
Gem·ast·pen·hor	Altar	Berl. Mus.	(Berl. Cat. 7497).
Horua	Prince, tomb, Thebes		(C.N. i. 551).
,,	Pendant		(W.G. 589).
,,	Granite figure	C. Mus.	
,,	Three statuettes	Karnak	(Rec. xxvii. 80).
,,	Seated figure	B. Mus. 32555.	
,,	Diorite statue	P. Mus. A. 84	(G.F. ii. x. xi.; Rec. iii. 67).
,,	Inscription	Aswan	(P.S. ix. 263).

The importance of this queen leads us to place her monuments together as a whole; the more so as she always appears as the main personage where she is named. She does not seem to have had political power, except in the Theban principality of the priesthood of Amen. But she was the great heiress of the legal rights of the kingdom, and descent from her conferred the highest authority. As she is usually designated as daughter of Kashta, it is clear that her rights came rather through her father's dominion over Egypt than from her mother, who is never named. As a mere appendage to her power appears that of her husband Pankhy II.



FIG. 118.—Alabaster statue of Amenardus. Karnak.

SNEFER·RA 

PANKHY (II.) 

Abydos	Sandstone jambs	C. Mus.	(Rec. xxii. 142).
Thebes?	Bandage, yr. 20+*x*	B. Mus.	(G.F. viii.).
Merauch	Granite altar of Mut		(L.D. v. 14 l).
Scarab with Taharqa		Ward Coll.	(S.B.A. xxii., pl. vii.).
Queens—			
PEKESATHER, dau. of Kashta			(Rec. xxii. 142).
AMENARDUS, ,,			(G.E. 220; G.F. viii. b).
. . . . RQA			(L.D. v. 7 c).
Son (by . . . rqa), Taharqa			(A.Z. xxxv. 28, 29; L.D. v. 7 c).
Daughter, by Amenardus, Shepenapt II.			(G.E. 220; Rec. xxiv. 212).

That Pankhy was the brother and husband of Amenardus is proved by the position of Shepenapt, who was "born of the sister of her father" (A.Z. xxxv. 16, 28). As the bandage in the British Museum gives over 20 years, perhaps 40, for the reign of Snefer·ra Pankhy, it is clear that it cannot refer to a brief rule of the local king of Thebes under the Assyrians, No. 3 at the beginning of this chapter; and therefore we are led to connect Snefer·ra with the husband of Amenardus. It is uncertain whether he was restricted to a Theban frontier for his kingdom, and thus regarded as the ruler of Thebes under the Assyrians: as also whether it is he who had the Horus name Sehoteptaui on the altar at Barkal. In short, in our previous list of Pankhy kings, Nos. 2, 3, 5, 6 may be all one personage. That Pankhy continued to rule along with Taharqa is shown by the scarab on which the one is "son of the sun" and the other "king of Upper and Lower Egypt."

The name of the ruler of Nia, Thebes, in the annals of the first expedition of Ashurbanipal, 668 B.C., is Manti·me·ankhe or Manti·pi·ankhi. It has been supposed to be Mentuemhat, but the ending *ankhi* cannot be intended for *hat*; the uncertain middle sign is therefore probably *pi*, and the reading is "Mer nuti Piankhi." If this is Pankhy II., and the bandage is accepted as reading 40 years or more, it would imply his ruling at 708 B.C. or earlier. This would not be at all impossible for his Ethiopian rule. Taharqa appears as general in Palestine as early as 701, and so was born in or before 722 B.C.; so his father Pankhy II. must have been born by 744. Thus he would be ruling in Ethiopia at 36 years of age, and still at Thebes at 76 years of age. These dates and ages do not prove that the vassal of Ashurbanipal in 668 was Pankhy II., but that there is no impossibility in the identity. The only sign that Pankhy did not live so long is that the temple of Osiris *neb·zetta* at Karnak was built in the joint reign of Taharqa and Shepenapt, whose parents were Pankhy *maa-kheru* and Amenardus. Though *maa-kheru* is often applied to a living person, yet if it were so here it would probably also be applied to the other rulers named. On the whole, therefore, it seems more likely that the Piankhy of the Assyrians in 668 B.C. is not the same as Pankhy II. husband of Amenardus. That Taharqa was his son is proved by Shepenapt the daughter of Pankhy being the sister of Taharqa.

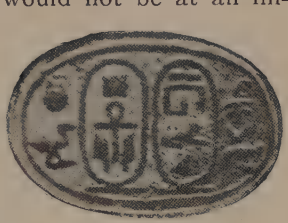


FIG. 119.—Scarab of Pankhy II. and Taharqa. Ward Coll.

MEN·KHEPER·RA 

. Y (erased) 

Karnak, piece of alabaster vase (M.K. 45 d).
Stele P. Mus. C. 100 (Pr. M. 4; A. Z. xvii. 53).

Scarabs, common.
Daughter—Mutardus, on stele above.
,, Carnelian Horus E. Mus. (G.E. 309).

This king was formerly supposed to have the personal name Pankhy, and to be identical with the husband of Amenardus. But, on the one hand, a king Sneferra Pankhy reigned over 20 years at Thebes, who can hardly be other than the husband of Amenardus; and, on the other hand, the erased cartouche of Menkheperra cannot be read as Pankhy. The traces under the erasure were read by Prisse as beginning with a disc sign, *ra* or *ḫh*; and this excludes both *Set* and *p*, *ṗ*, which have been otherwise proposed. Lastly, Maspero on examining the stone proposes Ra·men·y as the erased name, assisted by the scarabs bearing Ra·men·kheper Ra·men·y, which he supposes to be the same king. That the stele is of the Ethiopian period is obvious, from the style, and from the name Mutardus.



FIG. 120.—Scarab of Khmeny. F.P. Coll.

The difficulty remains that there is no room for such a king among the chief rulers of this age; nor, indeed, did he assume the double uraei of the royal Ethiopians. As, however, the vassal kings took double cartouches, there would be no reason against his being the ruler of a division of the country. He worships Mut, and his daughter is priestess of Mut and Hathor; these facts point to Upper Egypt, and the piece of his vase being dedicated at Karnak agrees to this. The southern principalities next to Thebes are Hermopolis

and Abydos. A difficulty is the supposition of a personal name beginning with Ra, as Ra·meny. But is this Ra? It is only a disc, and the name might read Khmeny. Now, Hermopolis was called Khimuni at that time, as we see in the list of Ashurbanipal: and so Khmeny would mean an inhabitant of Khmen or



FIG. 121.—Men·kheper·ra and princess. P. Mus. Pr. M. 4.

Hermopolis. If this king was called "the Hermopolite," it would not be surprising, and it would be far more likely than his having a personal name beginning with Ra.

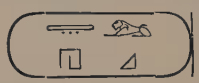
The stele bears a poetical description of his daughter—

A sweet of love, the prophetess of Hathor, Mutardus;
A sweet of love unto the king, Menkheperra;

A sweet of love unto all men,
A lovely one to all women,
Is this royal daughter.
A sweet of love, the beautiful of women;
A damsel of whom thou hast not seen the like;
Black is her hair more than the blackness of night,
More than the fruit of the sloe;
Red is her cheek more than the pebble of jasper,
More than the crushing of henna;
Her bosom is more captivating than her arms,
.

Here the stele is broken, and the glow of the court poet's imagination is left to our fancy. Of this paragon of princesses we know nothing more.

NEFER·ATMU·KHU·RA  701–693–667 B.C.

TAHARQA 

Palmyra	Clay impress of seal B. Mus.	(T.S.B.A. vii. 208).
Tanis	Granite stele	(P.T. ii. 29, ix.; A.Z. xxxviii. 51).
,,	On statue of Usertesen III.	(B.X. xl.).
Memphis	Granite weight C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 327).
Serapeum	Yr. X., Apis I.A, ink stele, Hotep·her·amen	(P.L. S. h. 303).
,,	Yr. XXIV., Apis II., Senbf	(M.S. 35; Rec. xxii. 18).
Hammamat	Cartouche	(G.H. iv. 2).
Karnak	Columns in forecourt	(L.D.T.iii. 10; C.N. ii. 7—).
,,	List of captured cities, forecourt.	
,,	Near E. gate, 5 bases	(C.N. ii. 261).
,,	Chapel of Osiris, *neb ankh*	(Rec. xxiv. 209–10).
,,	Building S. of temple of Amen	(M.K. ii.; Pr. M. 31–4).
,,	Temple of Osiris Ptah, S.E. of pylon X.	(M.D. 79–87).
,,	Temple of Ptah, 2nd court and door	(M.K. p. 10).
,,	On door of 2nd chapel, by Mentu	(M.K. p. 10).
,,	On entrance pylon, great hall	(M.K. p. 22).

Karnak	Quay, Nos. 34–7	(A.Z. xxxiv. 115).
,,	Base of statuette, list of cities	(M.K. 45 a).
,,	Temple of Mut, Mentu emhat	(M.K. 42–4).
Medinet Habu	Lintel, back of Shabaka's pylon	(L.D.T. iii. 153).
,,	Stele of restorations, yr. III. C. Mus.	(A.S. iv. 180).
Deir el Bahri	Restorations	(E. Ob. 237).
Thebes	Cone of Rames	(M.A.F. viii. 273, 2).
Ibrim	Re-used block	(My. E. 540).
Barkal	Pedestal in the great temple	(L.D. v. 13 ; C.M.F.B. lxii.).
,,	Smaller temple B	(L.D. v. 5–12 ; C.M.F.B. lviii. lxvii.–viii.).

Head of statue bought at Luqsor	C. Mus.	(A.Z. xxxiii., vii.).
,, ,, red granite	C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 183).
Statuette, bronze	Mac. Coll.	(A.Z. xxxiii. 114).
Portraits		(A.Z. xxxiii., pls. vi. vii.).
Sphinx, bronze	P. Mus.	(P.L. S. h. 266).
Two bronze plates	B. Mus. 5310–11	(T.S.B.A. vii. 203).
Hieratic fragment	C. Mus. 6337.	
Papyri, demotic, yrs. III.–XVI.	C.Mus.; P. Mus.	(R.Q.T.D. 230–55 ; D.M.E. xi. 10).
Scarabs, rather rare.		

Queen and sister—
AMENDUKEHAT, Duk-hat-amen (L.D. v. 5).
SHEPENAPT II. (A.Z. xxxv. 17, 28).
Daughter—Amenardus II. (,,).

Mentuemhat	Tomb	(M.A.F. v. 613–23).
governor of Thebes	Karnak, statue	(Rec. xxvii. 80).
,,	Cones	(M.A.F. viii. 290–91).
,,	3 statues B. Mus.	(B.G.M. 350, 357).
,,	Ushabtis Benson and Gourlay Colls.	
,,	Inscrip. of restorations	(M.K. 42–4 ; Mel. i. 18).
Nesishutefnut	Karnak, statue	(Rec. xxvii. 80).
Peduamenapt	Assasif tomb	(D.G.P. ; L.D. iii. 282f-h ; A.Z. xxi., pls. i. ii.).
,,	Med. Habu door	(L.D. iii. 282 b, c).
,,	Karnak, statue	(Rec. xxvii. 80).
Thes·ra·perau	Nurse of daughter, coffins F. Mus.	(W.G. 597).

From the statement in the stele of Psamtek I. (A.Z. xxxv. 16) that Shepenapt II. was the sister of Taharqa (l. 3), while we know that she was the daughter of Pankhy II. (G.E. 220), it follows that Taharqa was a son of Pankhy II. His mother's name is partly lost, it ended in rqa (L.D. v. 7 c). His account of his rise is on the stele of Tanis; he states that he had the crops from estates given by his father, and was loved by him more than the other royal children. After that Amen placed all lands under his feet. There lived in Napata the sister of Pankhy, sweet of love, royal mother, from whom Taharqa had parted when a youth of twenty years, when he went down to the north. She then went down the river, and found her son crowned; she rejoiced exceedingly, and all lands bowed to this royal mother. The stele thus commemorates the visit of the royal mother to Tanis: and the valuable item to us is that Taharqa was sent from Napata to Egypt when he was twenty, and some time after that he came to the throne. We know that he reigned at least 26 years (Rec. xxii. 19), and died in 667 B.C. (S.E.C. 202; R.P. i. 64); so his years of rule began in 693 B.C.

Now, in 701 B.C., the year of Sennacherib's Judaean campaign, Taharqa is named as being king of Ethiopia (2 Kings xix. 9), and being ready to fight in Palestine. This is quite consistent with the previous case of Shabaka acting as king before his sole reign, and there is no need whatever to resort to a theory of two campaigns. The Ethiopian rulers, even if they combined the government of Napata and Thebes, were ready enough to make their sons viceroys to manage the affairs of the distant north. This viceroyalty in 701 shows that Taharqa was probably at least 21; and he could not be much older, considering the general ages of the family. This would accord with his statement that he was sent north at the age of 20. It was not till the death of Shabatoka in 693 that Taharqa became sole king, at about the age of 29. A late Greek statement, which may have some weight,

makes Taharqa the conqueror of Shabatoka (U.M. 251); and as he had control of the Delta troops, and was a vigorous man, he may well have upset his cousin, who has left no trace of action. He secured twenty years of peaceful possession of Egypt and Ethiopia, and became a great builder at Napata, where he founded a new temple only second to the great temple.

Of the extent of Taharqa's power in Palestine we cannot judge. On his list of conquered towns, found in the great court of Karnak, he claims much of Palestine; but this list is a mere copy of that of Sety. Again, on his statuette is a long list of captured cities (M.K. 45 a); but this is only a copy—with a few blunders—of the list on the colossus of Ramessu II. (M.K. 38 f), and Taharqa was as much ruler of Qedesh and Naharaina as George II. was king of France, though officially so called. Also when Esarhaddon moved against Syria in 673 B.C., and struck at Baal, king of Tyre, he only accused him of submitting to Taharqa. And he cleared the coast from Aphek near Jaffa down to Raphia beyond Gaza (S.E.C. 142) without apparently meeting any Egyptian army. It does not seem, then, that Taharqa had more than a sphere of influence in Palestine, without actual military occupation.

Troubles in Assyria detained Esarhaddon from further action till 670 B.C. Then after clearing the desert, during the spring months, of disaffected tribes, who might have cut off his retreat, he struck for the Wady Tumilat, and in less than three weeks Memphis was taken, about midsummer. Taharqa fled to Ethiopia, and the queen and *harim*, the crown prince Ushanahoru, and other royal children were captured by the Assyrians (Ms. P. E. 373). Esarhaddon took all he could, and imposed tribute on the wealthy Delta, without spending his strength on a long pursuit up the narrow valley of the Nile: calling himself king of Egypt, he boasted on the stele of Sinjirli of leading captive Taharqa and Baal of Tyre.

So soon as the Assyrians had retired, Taharqa re-

turned with a fresh army to claim his northern frontier, 669 B.C., and captured Memphis (R.P. i. 59). But the Delta chiefs preferred a distant suzerainty of Assyria to the nearer mastery of the Ethiopian. A fresh expedition was needed, and Esarhaddon set out



FIG. 122.—Mount Barkal. L.D. i. 126.

with his co-regent son Ashurbanipal, 668 B.C.; he died on the way, and the son continued the campaign alone. The Assyrians went on to Karbanit, and there halted to organise the army; this cannot be the same place as Karbana of the Harris papyrus, for that was near Alexandria. Taharqa gathered his army and sent them out, only to be wrecked by the Assyrians as before. On hearing of the defeat he fled from Memphis to Thebes. The Assyrian followed him and took Thebes, and Taharqa disappeared into Ethiopia.



FIG. 123.—Scarabs of Taharqa. F.P. Coll.

The country was divided among twenty petty rulers, who had been established by Esarhaddon; these so closely parallel the chiefs subject to Pankhy I. that it seems the country had continued to be divided in the same way throughout the couple of generations of the Ethiopian rule. Their names are given in Assyrian as follow, with the probable forms in Egyptian:—

Niku of Mĕmpi and Sā'a		Nekau of Memphis and Sais	
Sharuludari	of Siinu	Sharuludari	of Pelusium
Pisankhuru	Natkhu	Pasenhor	Neaut
Pakruru	Pisaptu	Pakrer	Pasopd
Bukkunaniipi	Khatkhiribi	Bakennefi	Athribis
Nakhke	Khininsi	?	Shensha
Butubisti	Za'anu	Pedubast	Tanis
Unamunu	Natkhu	Unamen	Buto
Kharsiyĕshu	Zabnuti	Horsiast	Sebennytos
Buâma	Pindidi	Pama	Mendes
Shushinqu	Busiru	Sheshenq	Busiris
Tapnakhti	Bunubu	Tafnekht	Panub
Bukkunaniipi	Akhni	Bakennefi	Ehnasya
Iptikhardisu	Pikhattikhurunpiki	Auput?	?
Nakhtikhuruanshini	Pisapdiâ	Nekhthornashenu	Shbenti?
Bukurninip	Pakhnuti	Bakenranef	?
Sikha	Sia'utu	?	Siut
Lamentu	Khimuni	Ar·mentu?	Hermopolis
Ispimatu	Tani	?	Thinis
Mantipeankhe	Niâ	Mernuti Piankhi	Thebes

Most of these names have sufficiently obvious equivalents, but some need notice. Sharuludari was an Assyrian put into the frontier fortress of Sinu; *Heb.* Sin, *Arab.* Tineh. Natkhu is Natho, *Na-adhu*, "the papyrus lake," a frequent name in the Delta marshes; being next to Pelusium, it is probably Neout of Ptolemy in Lake Menzaleh, north of Tanis. Khininsi is not Ehnasya, as that occurs in its right order as Akhni; but it may be Shensha, S.E. of Samanud (see D.E.; Pshanasho Coptic). Natkhu, the second of the name, is probably Buto (B.G. 92). Pindidi is Pa·ba·neb·dadu, Mendes. Bunubu or Panub seems to be furthest up the Delta, and may be Benub, north of Athribis. Pikhatti is the "nome" of Khurunpiki, perhaps Hor·en·pa·kha; Horus of Kha is known, and by the position it might be Hierakonpolis of the XVIth nome. Pisapdia is otherwise read as Eshabdinuti, possibly Shbenti, Coptic, in mid. Egypt (A.G. 425), which may be Eshment, 10 miles N.W. of Eshmuneyn. We shall return to some of these princes when considering the rise of the Libyan power. It is doubtless one of these princes who took the name Nefer-nub-ra, which appears on some well-made scarabs.

While Ashurbanipal was up the Nile, there seems to have been a ferment in the north, with a view to cutting off his retreat. This is put after the campaign in the annals; but what are considered the more contemporary accounts place this movement during the campaign (Ms. P.E. 385). Sais, Mendes, Tanis, and other cities conspired (R.P. i. 63), but were crushed. Nekau and Sharuludari were taken to Nineveh; but the former cannot have been deeply involved, and Memphis, his capital, seems to have been faithful; so, after being impressed with the power of Nineveh, he was sent back as satrap to rule the Delta, Athribis being put in his power. Tirhaka did not survive this reverse, but died at Napata, and was succeeded by Tanutamen, the son of Shabaka.



FIG. 124.—Scarab of Nefer·nub·ra. F.P. Coll.



FIG. 125.—Column of Taharqa. Karnak.

The monuments of Taharqa are numerous. The impress of his seal, found at Palmyra, probably came from some letter sent to Assyria. At Tanis is the stele of his mother's visit, and his name is added in the XXth year on the back of a statue of Usertesen III. At the Serapeum were two Apis burials in this reign, one in year X., of which there is only an ink-written stele by a man Hotep·her·amen; the other the burial of year XXIV., of which there is a dated stele by Senbf, and other steles undated.

Most of his monuments are at Karnak. There the king seems to have built, or begun, a colonnade of

approach in the forecourt, like the colonnade of Amenhotep III. at Luqsor. Of this only one column remains complete, the well-known single column of the great court. A list of captured towns lately found near it belongs to a pylon of his; but as the names are copied from earlier lists, it is worthless historically. Near the east gate are said to be five bases of columns. The chapel of Osiris, lord of life, consists of two little chambers, about 6 feet square, at 200 feet north of the hypostyle hall. The walls show Taharqa and Shepenapt, excepting over one door, where an older stone of Pinezem I. was used. A larger building was placed against the south wall of the temple of Amen, near the sacred lake. In this are interesting scenes of a *sed*

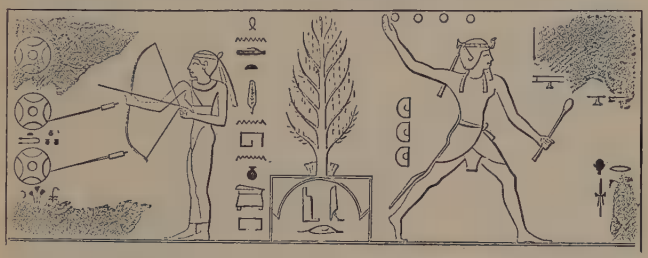


FIG. 126.—Taharqa and queen in festival. Karnak. Pr. M. 33.

festival, apparently on the coronation of Taharqa. The procession of standards is shown, as in all the *sed* festivals; the four gods of the four quarters, Dedun of the S., Sopd of the E., Sebek of the W., and Horus of the N. and S. of Egypt, are borne aloft by the priest and priestess of each god. This shows how southern was the centre of thought, when the whole of Egypt is reckoned as the north. Taharqa appears as the hereditary chief of the kingdom, "the great one, sheykh of the south; the great one, sheykh of the north." The use of *ur met res* here clears up the minor title in the XIIth dynasty, *ur metu res*; no word covers such a varying amount of authority as the Arab word "sheykh." Then Taharqa is shown

casting quoits at the four quarters of the world, while the divine wife shoots arrows at targets representing the four divisions. Whether this divine wife (of Amen, as it is at Thebes) was the queen-mother or a wife of Taharqa is not stated (Mel. i. 14).

The small chapel of Osiris-Ptah must belong to the end of the reign, as only a small part is of Taharqa, and most of it belongs to Tanutamen. In the temple of Ptah a front court and doorway was added by Taharqa. A few inscriptions were added on other monuments.



FIG. 127.—Napata, Temple B. C.M.F.B. lxvii.

The quay of Karnak bears high Nile inscriptions of the years VI., VII., and IX.

At Medinet Habu he inscribed the lintel on the back of the pylon of Shabaka, and the restorations that he made were described on a small stele of year III.

The largest work of his reign was the second temple at Napata, Mt. Barkal, where he excavated a sanctuary in the rock of the precipitous mountain, and built a temple in front of it. This is marked as temple B on the plan of Lepsius, and nearly all the scenes published

are from it (L.D. v. 5 to 12); but the scenes are not of



FIG. 128.—Napata, Temple B. C.M.F.B. lxxiv.

historical importance. He added also a pedestal for a monolith shrine in the great temple.

There is an excellent head of a statue in black granite, the attribution of which is fixed by the inscription on the back. And with this agree the other portraits of the king. The bronze statuette of the king kneeling is another important piece. A plaque of this king shows the sacred ram of Napata reposing under a tree, as at the left of the scene at Napata (L.D. v. 9).

Two queens are recorded: one only at Napata, who is the great heiress, the mistress of



FIG. 129.—Taharqa, black granite statue. Cairo Museum.

all women, royal sister and wife, Duk-hat-amen; the other is Shepenapt, the daughter of Amenardus, who only appears at Thebes. Doubtless each was hereditary high priestess and ruler in her own capital. A bust of a queen or daughter of Taharqa is at Sydney.

The great official of this reign is Mentuemhat. He was governor of Thebes, 4th prophet of Amen, hereditary chief, royal sealer, chiefly companion, scribe of



FIG. 130.—Shepenapt?, granite statue. Sydney Museum.

the temple of Amen, interpreter of the prophets in the temples, as shown by the cones from his tomb (M.A.F. viii. 290–1); also ruler of all the royal domains, great chief of the land to its limits, eyes of the king in all the land, as stated in his tomb. His statues also give the titles, prince of the deserts, and keeper of the gate of the deserts. His parents were the governor of Thebes, Nesiptah (M.K. 44, l. 35), and Asten·khebt

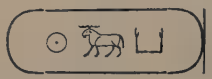
(cone 201); he had four wives, Nesikhonsu (son Nesptah) (cones 174–6, 209), Uzaranset (son Pa·khred·en·mut) (cones 193, 202), Shepenmut (cone 203), Astenkhebt (cone 210). Three statues of his are known, one in Brit. Mus. and two found in the temple of Mut, also ushabtis. His tomb at Assassif is a single rock chamber, 8 cubits long, 5 wide, and 5 high, covered with a close copy of the scenes and titles in the Memphite tombs of the Vth–VIth dynasties; a fragment of



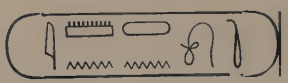
FIG. 131.—Mentuemhat, granite statue. Cairo Museum.

it is at Florence (S. Cat. F. 1590). The most important inscription of this governor is on a little chamber on the south side of the temple of Mut at Karnak. There he records what he had done for the monuments of Thebes after the Assyrian sack of the second invasion of Egypt, from which Taharqa had fled only to die at Napata. Mentuemhat states that all the country was turned upside down by the invasion; but that he had purified anew all the temples of Upper Egypt, set up the cedar doors, rebuilt the protecting walls, and renewed all the portable shrines and temple furni-

ture with gold and inlaid stones. The Assyrian had doubtless cleared off everything that would serve to honour Ashur and Nebo, and burnt the residue with fire. Not since the days of the Hyksos had there been such a terrible clearance by unbelievers, and the renewals on even a poor scale must have been an immense work.

BA·KA·RA 

667–664 B.C.

TANUTAMEN 

Annals of Ashurbanipal (R.P. i. 64).

Karnak	Temple of Osiris-Ptah	(M.D. 79–87).
Luqsor	Visit of Pedukhonsusenb, yr. III. Berl. Mus. 2096	(C.M. 349).
Barkal	Dream stele C. Mus.	(M.D. 7, 8; R.P. iv. 81).

Queens—

QELHATAT (M.D. 7, 8).
GERARHENI (,,).

The birth of Tanutamen is closely fixed by his being a son of Shabaka, born therefore before 707; and yet son of Taharqa's wife, probably a daughter of Pankhy, and so not born more than a year or two before Shabaka's death.

The history of this reign is best stated by Ashurbanipal (668 B.C.): "Tirhaka fled to Ethiopia; the might of the soldiers of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed him, and he went to his place of night (667 B.C.). Afterwards Tandamanu, son of his sister, sat on his royal throne. Thebes he made his fortified city, and he gathered his forces to fight my army of Assyria, which was gathered in the midst of Memphis . . ., and besieged and took the whole of them, . . . came and

told me (666 B.C.). In my second expedition to Egypt and Ethiopia I directed my march. Tandamanu heard of the progress of my expedition, and that I had crossed over the borders of Egypt. He abandoned Memphis, and to save his life he fled to Thebes. The kings, prefects, and governors, whom I had set up in Egypt, came to my presence and kissed my feet. I took the road after Tandamanu; I went to Thebes, the strong city; he saw the approach of my mighty army, and he abandoned Thebes and fled to Kipkip. My bands took the whole of Thebes, in the service of Ashur and Ishtar; silver, gold, precious stones, the furniture of his palace, all that there was; costly and beautiful garments, great horses, men and women, two lofty obelisks covered with beautiful carving, . . . hundred talents in weight, which were set up before the gate of a temple, I removed and brought to Assyria. I carried off spoils unnumbered" (R.P. i. 64–5). The dates are given by the Eponym Canon.

In the Dream stele, Tanutamen implies he was in Egypt at his accession, and relates how he went down (in 667 B.C.) to the Mediterranean (l. 2), and then went up to Ethiopia (l. 3). He was evidently uncertain whether he would be accepted after the death of Taharqa; and he dreamed that two serpents were one on his right and the other on his left hand. This was interpreted (l. 5) that he would rule over both south and north; and when he returned to Ethiopia he found it fulfilled, as a million and a thousand men followed him. He then made a coronation festival in Napata, and was accepted by the god. Then (l. 14) he sailed back to Egypt, to repair the temples, re-establish the statues, make offerings, and reconstitute the priesthood and worship, after the Assyrian sack. On reaching Memphis he was opposed; but slew his adversaries, entered Memphis, and made great offerings to Ptah, and ordered a new hall to be built. He then went to fight the chiefs of the north (rev. l. 5); but they retired into the marshes, and he returned foiled. They, however, came in and made submission, with the hereditary

prince of Pa-sopd (Saft el Henneh) named Paqrur as spokesman. Thus the whole country was pacified and gave tribute.

Whether this conquest of the Delta was that recorded by Ashurbanipal in 667 B.C. or another reconquest after the Assyrian war of 666, is not certain. But as there is no suggestion on the stele of a war before this, it seems that the stele must relate to 667 B.C., and have been set up before the Assyrian reconquest, which reached as far as Thebes in 666.

After this we know that Tanutamen held Thebes in his third year, when a high official of the Theban gods visited the temple of Luqsor, and recorded his ancestors of sixteen generations. If his reign is reckoned from Taharqa's death in 667 B.C., this shows that Tanutamen held Thebes till 664 B.C. ; and Psamtek is not known certainly to have been at Thebes till 655 B.C. It is probable, however, that the close of the Ethiopian hold on Egypt must be dated to 664 or 663 B.C. And with this ends the Assyrian interference with Egypt. The Libyan at last ruled the land.

Like Taharqa, he had two sister queens who were high priestesses: Qelhatat in Ethiopia, and Gerarheni in Egypt, as they are specified upon the dream stele.

We may here notice the general character of the Ethiopian dominion, which lasted probably just a century. That the kings of Napata represented the old civilisation of Upper Egypt is clear ; and it is probable that they were actually descended from the high priests of Amen, who were the rightful successors of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties. So far, then, as hereditary rights go, they were the true kings of Egypt, rather than the mob of Libyan chiefs who had filtered into the Delta, and who tried to domineer over the Nile valley from that no-man's land. So soon as the XXIInd dynasty was weakened, Pankhy, or his predecessor, appears to have brought it to a close. Then followed the successive reassertions of governance of Egypt by Pankhy, Shabaka, Taharqa, and Tanutamen. It does

not appear that there was any abandonment of the country between perhaps 763 (or certainly 735) and 664 B.C. A system of viceroys was needed in ruling so great an extent of territory, nearly a thousand miles of the Nile valley. And just as the Egyptian kings appointed a "royal son of Kush" to rule south of Aswan, so an Ethiopian king appointed a royal son to rule in Egypt. Shabaka is called king, or commander-in-chief, ten years before Pankhy died. Taharqa was sent down to Egypt at 20, and acted there as viceroy for eight years before Shabatoka came to an end.

The succession in the Ethiopian kingdom was rigidly in the female line, the series of eight generations of queens in continuous descent being given on the stele of Aspaluta about 625 B.C.; the earliest of these, called "mistress of Kush," being probably the wife of Pankhy I. Each of these queens with cartouches was also sister of a king, so that sister marriage was an unbroken rule (M.D. 9; R.P. vi. 76). These were the high priestesses of Napata; but each king had also a high priestess queen at Thebes, Shapenapt I., Amenardus, Shapenapt II., and Gerarheni in succession. Both queens appear with their proper titles, one on each side of the scene, on the stele of Tanutamen, the "mistress of Nubia" and the "mistress of Egypt."

Before leaving the Ethiopian kings, we may here state their successors whose monuments are known, although they did not rule in Egypt. The dating of the kings is approximate from the resemblance of their cartouches to those of the Egyptian kings (see S.A.K.).

BAKARA, TANUTAMEN, Q. Qelhatat, 667–650 B.C.?
(monuments named above).
X., Q. Nensau, 650–630 B.C.? (R.P. iv. 9; P.E.E. i. 101).
MERKARA, ASPELUTA, Q. Madsenen, 630–600 B.C.?
Coronation stele (M.D. 9; R.P. vi. 71).
Excommunication stele (M.D. 10; R.P. iv. 93).
Temple C, Barkal, fragment (L.D. v. 15 e, h).
Queen Madsenen stele (P.E.E. i. 100; R.P. iv. 87).
PANKHALURO, Q. Tesmaneferru, 600–560 B.C.?
Named on stele of Nastosenen.
Queen named as mother of next.

SIAMENMER HORSIATEF, Q. Beketalu, 560–525 B.C.?
Stele of XXXVth year, stating dates of 9 Nubian campaigns (M.D. 11–13; R.P. vi. 85).
Q. mother of next, Palukha.
KA'ANKH'RA NASTOSENEN, 525–500 B.C.?
Daughter, Sekhmakh.
Stele of VIIIth year (L.D. v. 16; S.A.K.; R.P. x. 57).
Temple C, Barkal, fragment (L.D. v. 15 f).

Of unplaced kings may be named—

XXIII.? SKHEPERENRA, SENKA'AMEN'SEKEN.
Dyn. Temple H, Barkal (C.M.F.B. lix. lxi.).
Temple F, Barkal, altar, Berl. Mus. (L.D. v. 15 a).
KHUKARA ATLUNERSA.
Column, C. Mus. (Rec. viii. 169).
Temple F, altar, Barkal (L.D. v. 15 b).
Scarab, P. Mus. (P.Sc. 2001).
HORNEKHT, great temple, Barkal, architrave (L.D. v. 14 e).
. . NEZKAMEN, great temple, Barkal, jamb (L.D. v. 14 g).
UAZKARA AMTERUKA, Meraweh statue, Berlin (L.D. v. 15 n–p).
XXVI. KHNUMABRA ARK . . AMEN, Begrawiyeh (L.D. v. 54)
ANKHKARA ARKENKHERRU, Beg. (L.D. v. 45).
ANKHNEFERABRA ASRUDAMEN, on lions from Soleb, B. Mus. (A.B. 25).
ANKHNEFERABRA ANUMERY AMEN, Beg. (L.D. 53).
. . . . ENABRA . . AKHA'AMEN, Beg. (L.D. 45).
KARUKA, Beg. (L.D. 54). Father of
BARUTRA, Beg. (L.D. 54).
XXX. KHEPERKARA NUTEKAMEN.
Barkal Temple C (L.D. v. 15 h, i).
Beg. (L.D. 25). Father of
KHEPERKARA NENTSIMANEN, Naga (L.D. 55, 67, 68).
Queen Amara (L.D. 69, 70).
MERKARA MANENAPSHU?
Naga (L.D. 55, 66, 67, 68).
Amara (L.D. 69, 70).
Son—ANKHARA ASHSARTASH?, Naga (L.D. 67, 68).
,, See Amara (L.D. 69, 70).
KHEPERKARA . . KHENTIA . . UZAMANEN, Beg. (L.D. 48).
SHENENSEUZATAKA?, Naga (L.D. 68).
ARUAMEN, Beg. (L.D. 36).
AMANENESH?, Beg. (L.D. 40).
Ptol. IV. AMENDUTANKH, ARQAMEN.
Dakkeh temple (L.D. 17) (Ergamenes).
Philae temple (L.T.P. 54, 55).
NU'ATNETERU SOTEPENRA, AZAKHARAMEN, Debot templ (L.D. 18).

Aug. AMENARYT KENTAKYT, Beg. (L.D. 47) (Kandake).
SERU . . TINENEM KENRATERQNENEM, Beg. (L.D. 52).
THESHASHUANEN, Beg. (L.D. 49).
MAAT'NEB'RA MANENEMHANEN, Beg. (L.D. 51).
. RA KHENSHENAMEN, Beg. (L.D. 51).



FIG. 132.—Queen Merkara and Amen. Naga. L.D. v. 66.

Of these the dates of some can be seen by the styles of the names copied from the Egyptians and by the Greek references to Ergamenes and Kandake. But it would need considerable archaeological research in Ethiopia to restore the series of kings. Moreover, the corruption of the values and forms of signs makes the reading of the names very doubtful in the later times.

THE SAITE DOMINION

THE earliest rise of the Saite power is found under the reign of Pankhy the Ethiopian. It seems likely that he had at the beginning of his reign attacked the effete XXIInd dynasty, and brought it to an end, thus establishing his suzerainty over the country. Certainly in his XXth year the petty rulers of various provinces looked to him to keep the peace among them, and to save them from the energetic policy of Tafnekht, the chief of the west. They did not dispute the position of Tafnekht, but only his usurpation of their own provinces. We find, then, that the start of the Saite power must be recognised as early as the close of the XXIInd dynasty, 749 B.C.

The probable reconstruction of this period of 749 to 664 B.C. had better be stated first, together with the continuation of the family, so as to point out the connections; and then the separate kings will be dealt with afterwards.

MONUMENTS.		MANETHO, ETC.	B.C.	BORN.	AGES. acc.	died.
			749			
Shepses·ra	Tafnekht I.	Tnefakhthos		800	51	79
			721			
Uah·ka·ra	Bakenranf	Bocchoris		778	57	63
			715			
Uah·ab·ra	Tafnekht II.	Stefinates		756	41	78
			678			
Ar·ab·ra?	Nekau·ba	{Nekhepsos / Neokhabis}		734	56	62
			672			
Men·ab·ra	Nekau I.	Nekhao		712	40	48

Monuments.		Manetho, etc.	B.C.	born.	Ages. acc.	died.
			664			
Uah·ab·ra	Psamtek I.	Psammetikhos		690	26	80
			610			
Uahem·ab·ra	Nekau II.	Nekhao		668	58	72
			594			
Nefer·ab·ra	Psamtek II.	Psammouthis		646	52	57
			589			
Haa·ab·ra	Uah·ab·ra	Uaphris		624	35	60
			564			

The *parentage* of this series is certain from Haa·ab·ra back to Nekau I. That Nekhepsos is the same as Neokhabis is probable; and Neokhabis is recognised to be a king's father; though he cannot be the father of Bocchoris, as is said by Athenaeus (x. 13). That Stefinates was father of Neokhabis, and son of Bocchoris, is only a supposition, from the fact of their ruling over the same region. That Tnefakhthos was father of Bocchoris is stated by Diodoros.

The *dates* of the kings are those given by Greek history back to 664; by Manetho back to Stefinates, who is here considered to have begun his virtual reign on the death of Bocchoris; and by the Ethiopian campaign for Tafnekht, who seems to have been a recognised vassal of Pankhy, and was probably established on the fall of the XXIInd dynasty.

The *ages* of the kings are assumed from the basis we here adopt of 22 years for eldest-surviving-son generations, following the average of the Jewish kings. No actual age of a king is known, but the long reign of Psamtek I. gives a fairly fixed point for the scale, as he is not likely to have been much over 80 at death, or much under 26 at accession. It is remarkable how well this general scale applies, never giving any unlikely results for the ages of accession or death. If there were a brother or a grandson in the series we should certainly see a break in the regularity of the supposed ages. This is good evidence for the father and son succession which has here been assumed for Stefinates.

SHEPSES·RA  about 749–721 B.C.

TAFNEKHT I. 

Stele of yr. VIII. Athens Mus. (Rec. xxv. 190).
Stele of Pankhy, for history. C. Mus. (M.D. 1–6).

It appears that Tafnekht was probably a Libyan chief, who was pressing on the borders of the Delta



FIG. 133.—Tafnekht stele, scene. Athens.

when the XXIInd dynasty was overthrown by the Ethiopian invasion under Pankhy. He, like other chiefs who had obtained a footing in the Delta, was accepted as a vassal of the Ethiopians. Pankhy prob-

ably favoured this system of petty rulers, as preventing any serious resistance in the distant fringe of his kingdom. That Tafnekht was old enough to be of importance at that crisis is shown by his having, twenty years later, a son who was then old enough to take a forward place in his conquests.

Of his VIIIth year there is a stele with figures of the king presenting a donation of land to Atmu and Neit, assisted by an official Aarefaaneit. The king, though using two cartouches, does not appropriate any emblem of royalty, such as a crown, the uraeus, or the tail.

The inscription records the donation of 10 arouras of an island to Neit, in charge of the doorkeeper of Neit named Aarefaaneit, son of the chief doorkeeper of the temple of Neit, Ari; it also establishes him in his father's office, and curses any who shall dispossess him.

The political future lay with the westerners. They had often threatened Egypt with permanent invasion; under Merenptah and Ramessu III. they had been repelled; the strength of the eastern monarchy of Bubastis had held them back; but as soon as that was broken they swept the Delta. Under Pankhy there were four rulers who wore the feather of Libyan chieftainship, at Mendes, Sebennytos, Pa-sopd (Saft el Henneh), and Busiris, and their sons held Hermopolis and Xois: thus the eastern Delta was occupied by them, and the west was held by their powerful kinsman Tafnekht, who was chief of Sais (Pankhy stele, l. 87).

By about 729 B.C. Tafnekht was no longer content with being chief of the west, but occupied the entire country side from the sea up to the south of Memphis. He had then pushed onwards, and dispossessed all the petty rulers up to Hermopolis, after masking Herakleopolis, which still resisted him. This combination was checked by the Ethiopian army, and the son of Tafnekht was slain at Tatehen (Tehneh?). Pankhy himself then came down and reasserted his authority, after the submission of middle Egypt and

the capture of Memphis. Tafnekht fled to the marshes, where he could not be reached, while his forced allies transferred their allegiance and property to Pankhy. After a year (l. 137) he yielded and offered to give tribute and allegiance, but would not come in person to the court. Pankhy was glad to settle with an inaccessible enemy on such terms, and peace was made without stripping Tafnekht of any of his original territory. (See also the fuller statement of this war under the reign of Pankhy, pp. 269–276.) Tafnekht seems to have died a few years later.

UAH·KA·RA



721–715 B.C.

BAKENRANF



Serapeum, Apis burial yr. VI. steles (M.S. 34).
,, ,, wall inscription (M.S. 34).
Scarabs, B. Mus. ; P. Mus. ; Munich (P. Sc. 1824-5 ; F.S. 361).

As Tafnekht is stated to have been the father of Bakenranf, the succession is clear. And the tales of Bocchoris which are echoed by the Greek writers, and his reputation as a lawgiver, point to his having



FIG. 134.—Bakenranf name, Serapeum. M.S. 34.

recovered much of his father's former status and importance. He held Memphis at the end of his reign, as he there buried an Apis. And his independence was such that the Egyptians could regard him as a king of Egypt, and give him the honour of constituting the XXIVth dynasty. As the XXIIIrd dynasty is reckoned as ending before him, he probably held the overlordship of the petty princes of the Delta and

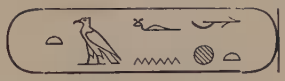
middle Egypt, and thus had recovered what his father had lost. There is even a glimpse of his having reached further south, when he is called "loved of Amen" on a scarab.

The Apis burial in his VIth year confirms Manetho in the length of his reign. The date is given by an ink writing on the wall of the chamber, and on one stele. Two other steles of the same burial were also found.

The Ethiopians recalled the power of Pankhy over Tafnekht; and the sons of those kings repeated the story by Shabaka attacking and conquering Bakenranf, whom, Manetho states, he burnt alive.

UAH·AB·RA 

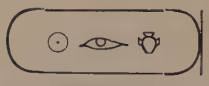
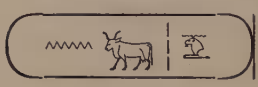
715–678 B.C.

TAFNEKHT II. 

Athribis	Cornice	C. Mus.	(Ms. G. 381).
Bubastis	Sistrum handle	Berl. 8182	(A.Z. xxi. 23).

A successor of Bakenranf, who reigned at Athribis and Bubastis, bore the throne name Uahabra, as is shown by a piece of cornice and a sistrum handle bearing this cartouche alternate with that of Shabaka. It is very improbable that Psamtek I., two generations later, would thus revive the name of Shabaka, which was usually erased on other monuments. The name of Uah·ab·ra must be that of a vassal of Shabaka, and he must therefore have ruled at some time between 715 and 707 B.C. Another evidence is that Akanuash, who was prince of Sebennytos under Pankhy in 728, names Uahabra as his king when dedicating a statue of Osiris, which might well be ten or twenty years later (Rec. xvi. 126). The reigns recorded in Manetho would place a Stefinates between 685 and 678 B.C.;

and it is probable that this is another Tafnekht, with perhaps a *sigma* carried over by a Greek copyist from some word before his name. We may see in a reading of Manetho in Africanus that Taharqa reigned 8 years (variants 18 and 20 years, and truly 26 years), a recognition of the point of independence of the Saites. Taharqa's 8 years would be 693–685 B.C., and this is the year in which Manetho begins the XXVIth dynasty with Stefinates. There is nothing to prove whether the Uahabra of about 710 B.C. is the same person as Tafnekht II. who began independent rule in 685. But, as the series of generations does not suggest any break here, it is probable that (1) both names belong to one ruler; (2) that he was a son of Bakenranf, who inherited some of his father's power, though acknowledging the suzerainty of Shakaba; and (3) that by the VIIIth year of Taharqa he became so far independent as to be reckoned as one of the kings of Egypt.

AR·AB·RA ?		678–672 B.C.	
NEKAU·BA			
Menat	Stroganoff Coll.	(Rec. viii. 64).	
Bead	P. Mus.	(P. Sc. 2143).	

In Manetho the successor of Stefinates is Nekhepsos. This is probably the same name as Neokhabis, who is stated by Athenaeus to be the father of Bocchoris. That relationship is wrong, and Neokhabis as the father of a king can only be placed here. The name clearly includes Neka or Nekau, which twice appears in the family names. And the cartouche Ne·ba·kau found on a *menat* may well be a form of Ne·kau·ba. The name Arabra is found on a bead; and as seven kings of the family



FIG. 135.—Bead of Arabra. Paris Mus.

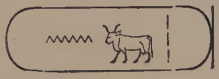
took names of the form *n*·ab·ra, this belongs to the series: as Nekauba is the only king whose throne name is quite unknown, this name may perhaps be attributed to him.

MEN·AB·RA



672–664 B.C.

NEKAU I.



In Annals of Ashurbanipal, i. 92, ii. 34 (R.P. i. 61, 64).
Herodotos, ii. 152.
Scarabs and cylinder (P. Sc. 2121–5).

As Neokhabis was father of a king, this links the previous reign with the present; and as Neko was the father of Psammitikhos (Hdtos.), we have the connection to the next reign. That Neko was not, however, killed by Sabacon (Hdtos.) is clear from the dates, as Shabaka died 707 B.C., when Nekau was probably only 5 years old; such a statement would make Psamtek I.



FIG. 136.—Scarabs of Menabra. F.P. Coll.

at least 97 at his death, which is very unlikely, beside making all the other ages of the family far too great. And it can scarcely be questioned that the Nikuu of Ashurbanipal in 667 B.C. is Neko, the father of Psammitikhos.

We read first that Esarhaddon had recognised Nikuu as king of Memphis and Sais, or principal ruler of Lower Egypt in 670 B.C. And after Taharqa's defeat, Ashurbanipal confirmed Nikuu in that position in 667

B.C. And though in consequence of a revolt (col. ii. 14 . . .) the Assyrians sent Nikuu as prisoner to Nineveh (ii. 33), he was soon liberated after this show of power, and sent back with insignia and supplies of cavalry to be re-established in Sais, with Psamtek in Athribis (ii. 47). The invasion by Tanutamen in 666 B.C. was probably the cause of the death of Nekau, the faithful vassal of Assyria. At the same time his son Psamtek fled to Syria toward his suzerain (Hdtos.).

There are many scarabs and a cylinder with the name Men·ab·ra, evidently of this family. This king used the two uraei with the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt (P. Sc. 2121), and called himself "the good god, lord of both plains"; while his cylinder mentions Ptah·nefer·her, connecting him with Memphis. He was evidently far the most powerful of all the kings of the *ab* family, before the XXVIth dynasty; and we must therefore connect him with Nekau I.

It may well be asked, What, then, constituted the foundation of a new dynasty by Psamtek? If the family were the same, why should a new dynasty be proclaimed? The acquisition of wider power would scarcely account for this. There is, however, in the name of Psamtek a suggestion of Ethiopian influence; and it would be quite likely that at about 690, when Taharqa was at his strongest in Lower Egypt and across to Palestine, he may have tried to secure the young prince Nekau by alliance with one of the Ethiopian princesses, who became the mother of Psamtek. It is evident that Psamtek is a name of the same type as Shabatak; that name means "wild cat's son, the" inverted in Ethiopic order. So Psamtek would mean "the son of *sam*." The P prefixed is the Egyptian article, as there is also a female form, Tasamtek. But this is only in accord with the *p* added to the Ethiopian *aalak* to form Pilak, Philae. The name is then "the son of *sam*" with the Egyptian article prefixed. Now, on many scarabs there is the sun and lion; this is associated with Psamtek on one scarab (P. Sc. 1927), and is on another accompanied by

Psam. As there is an Upper Egyptian word *zam* for a lion, the connection can hardly be ignored; and in modern Libyan *îzem* is a lion, and *agerzäm* a leopard. *Psam* reads as "the lion," and that animal accompanies it; and Psamtek is in full "the lion's son." The only other derivation proposed is a demotic meaning of "drinking-bowl maker"; it would be too absurd to suppose this to be the actual origin of a name in a royal family of many generations, and it would entirely ignore the parallel with the name of Shabatak. But such a possible connection is obviously a corrupt derivation of the Bellerophon—Billy ruffian—type. And it is of great interest as giving an origin for the folk-tale repeated by Herodotos about Psamtek making his offering from a helmet instead of a brazen bowl, and so incurring the wrath of his fellow-chieftains.

This tale is much of the same kind as a very lively picture of the squabbling chivalry of petty rulers —the Dodecarchy of the Greek writers — which has been preserved to us in a demotic romance. And though it may have little or no historic value, it gives so good a sketch of the manners and ways of the divided Delta of about 700 B.C. that we here give an outline of it. The whole translation and discussion of the papyrus has been published by Krall in *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer*, vi. Band, 1897. The outline of the remaining parts of the papyrus is as follows:—Ka·amenhotep, prince of Mendes, had stolen the breastplate of Eiorhoreru, prince of Heliopolis, for lack of which his burial could not be completed. Pimay, his son, complains to the king Pedubast at Tanis, who is overlord of all the Delta. Ka·amenhotep will not obey the king; each side obtains a large following, and the whole Delta is liable to civil war. Pedubast regulates the fighting, and makes a formal gathering of the chiefs, setting them in two opposing rows. Battle ensues, the Ka·amenhotep party are worsted, although Pedubast is in their favour, and finally the breastplate is returned to Heliopolis. Why such importance should be attached to a breastplate for a

burial has not been explained. But when we look at the mummies of the following period we see that a large gilt breastplate with figures of gods and genii is an essential part of the funeral outfit. These cheap breastplates of gilt cartonnage were probably the imitations of similar ones of gold or gilt silver (see the silver-gilt mask of Horuza, P.K. 19), used for the great men of that age. Hence it was probably a large and very valuable piece of funeral offering which was wrongfully detained.

The contest is, broadly speaking, between the newly developed region of the N.E. Delta against the Upper Delta and the Nile valley One party was—

Pedubast, king of Tanis ;
Pedukhonsu, of Mendes ;
Ka·amenhotep, of Sebennytos and Behbit ;
Onkhhor, son of Pedubast ;
Zihor, son of Onkhhor ;
Pramoone, son of Onkhhor ;
Onkhhapi, son of Pramoone ;
Nemeh ;
Taher, general, of Mendes.

The other party consisted of—

X, son of Eierhoreru, of Sais ;
Mentubaal, of Syria ;
Pekrur, of Pasopd, chief of the east ;
Pedukhonsu, of Athribis ;
Pramoone, son of Zinofer, of Pimonkhrê ;
. . . . ruru, son of Eierhoreru, of Busiris ;
Pimay, son of Eierhoreru, of Heliopolis ;
Uerhue, son of Onkhhor, of Meratum ;
Onkh-hor, of Herakleopolis ;
Minnemai, of Elephantine ;
Horau, son of Pedukhonsu ;
Onkh-hor, son of Hurbesa ;
Sobkhotep, son of Zinofer, of Athribis ? ;
Sobkhotep, son of Tafnekht.

Three of these personages appear in the list of Esarhaddon's vassals ; Putubisti of Tanis, Pakruru of

Pasopd, and Naahkii of Herakleopolis; and these names show that the tale cannot be placed long before 670 B.C., and that it deals with really historical persons.

Having given the outline of the personages, we will now turn to the view of the time which is shown. We see that Pedubast is recognised as being an overlord of all the Delta chiefs, that he is appealed to for justice, and that when a war is imminent he can regulate the nature and amount of the fighting, though he cannot enforce his commands so as to prevent it altogether. He repeatedly makes promises of restoring the breastplate, but cannot make Ka·amenhotep give it up.

When fighting is inevitable, then Pekrur, chief of the East, prepares despatches summoning his various allies, and fixing that they should all assemble at the Lake of the Gazelles of Pa-uazet-nebt-Am, or Nebesheh. There follows the description of the arrival of Pedukhonsu of Athribis with 40 large boats and 60 smaller, horses, camels, and infantry, so many that the stream and the bank were too narrow for them, and they were jostling along the canal bank like modern natives.

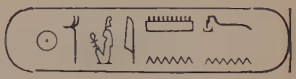
The king intervenes and begs Pedukhonsu not to fight until all the other parties have come. After they had all arrived, then the king orders to be prepared two rows of raised platforms or balconies, opposite to each other, for the two opposing parties of chiefs. Then the king orders a regulated combat, apparently led by each chief in person; and the arming of Pekrur is described. It does not appear to have been a combat of champions, as in the tournaments of the Middle Ages; but rather an orderly system of fighting with full forces, in which surprises or irregular advantages were not allowed. This was probably the outcome of several generations of turmoil so continual, that exact regulations came to be enforced, like the weekly truces and other amenities of mediaeval quarrels. The mighty Mentu-baal the Syrian comes in, and attacks the Sebennytes so vigorously that they send to tell the king, who was afraid, and begged Pekrur to call his ally off. Pekrur insists on the king going with him.

Once again the king promises redress; and as Ka·amenhotep was near being killed by Pimay, he yields the point at last. Pedukhonsu was elsewhere fighting Onkhhor, and overthrowing him; the king hastened off to beg the victor to desist. The prince of Elephantine then appears with his troops, and attacks Taher the general of Mendes, who guarded the breastplate. At last this is brought back, Joy being before it and Rejoicing after it.

This strictly regulated warfare, pitting chief against chief, is remarkable, especially as the regulator was a king who openly belonged to one of the two parties. We thus get a curious social view of this disorganised time in Egypt, which we may hope to know better when the other romances of this age are published, now in the Vienna, Paris, and Spiegelberg collections.

This king of Tanis, Pedubast, does not appear in any dynastic list, as he was contemporary with the Ethiopians and early Saites; but his remains are known as follow:—

USER·MAAT·RA,
SOTEP·EN·AMEN



AMEN·MERY,
PE·DU·BAST



Tanis, bronze torso inlaid with gold, ⅔ life size. Stroganoff Coll. at Aachen: *si Bast* added to the name (Rec. viii. 63).
Squatting black granite figure of a prince Hor, under Pedubast. C. Mus.
Stele, broken. Copenhagen (S.B.A. xxi. 265).
Papyrus Rainer, above quoted.
Ashurbanipal, Annals. See under Taharqa.

TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY

			B.C.
Uah·ab·ra	Psamtek I.	54	664–610
Uahem·ab·ra	Nekau II.	16	610–594
Nefer·ab·ra	Psamtek II.	5	594–589
Haa·ab·ra	Uah·ab·ra	19	589–570
Khnum·ab·ra	Aahmes·si·neit	44	570–526
Ankh·ka·n·ra	Psamtek III.	1	526–525

This period has attracted such full historical discussion by many writers, and is so familiar from the contemporary Greek history, that it will be taken here more from the purely Egyptian point of view, without entering on all the politics of the surrounding peoples. The abundance of Greek tales and allusions has been collected and treated by Wiedemann; the links with the Babylonian side may be fully found in Maspero (Ms. P.E.). And the necessary limits of this volume will oblige us to write a guide to the Egyptian material, rather than a discursive history of a period which is fairly well known, and in which there are no great uncertainties to need discussion.

XXVI. I. UAH·AB·RA



664–610 B.C.

PSAMTEK (I.)



Alexandria	Basalt intercolumnar slab B. Mus.	(A.B. 167).
,,	Block under Pompey's pillar	(L.D.T. i. 1).
Sais	Burial of Psamtek	(Hdtos. ii. 169).
,,	Altar Berl. Mus. 11576	(Berl. Cat. p. 250).
,,	Block	(My. E. 147).
Naukratis	Fort built?	(P. Nk. i. 5).
,,	Scarabs	(P. Nk. xxxvii.).
Mendes	Stele	(B.T. 738).
Defneh	Fort, deposits, and sealings	(P.T. ii. xxii. xxxvi. xliv.).
Pharbaethus	Building named on stele	(B.T. 797; A.Z. xxxi. 84).
Bubastis	Wax (?) seal	(Ms. G. 99).
Heliopolis	Altar Paris Cab. Med.	

Memphis	South portico of Ptah	(Hdtos. ii. 153).
,,	Court of Hapi	(,,).
,,	Statue broken	(B. Rs. 81).
,,	Statue of 12 cubits	(Diod. i. 67).
Serapeum	Apis steles P. Mus.	(M.S. 36; Rec. xxii. 19; and others).
Wady Gasus	Rock inscription	(Abh. K. Preus. Akad. 1885).
Abydos	Lintel with Neitaqert	(M.A. i. 2 b).
Karnak	Quay, yrs. X. XI. XVII. XIX.	(A.Z. xxxiv. 116–7).
,,	Bronze plates C. Mus.; V. Mus.	(Ms. G. 246; Rec. ix. 53).
,,	Naos with Shepenapt	(Ms. Q.G. 179).
,,	Khonsu temple graffiti	(Pr. M. 35, 4; W.G. 619).
,,	Heart-shaped vase of Astemkhebt C. Mus.	(Rec. xiv. 38).
Medinet Habu	Basalt statue of Osiris	(Rec. xvii. 118).

Statue, kneeling	Copenhagen	(P. Ins. i. 92).
Portrait from slab	P. Mus.	(A.Z. xxxiii. 116).
Kneeling figure, bronze	Athens	
Quartzite sphinx	Alexandria	(A.S. v. 126).
Frieze, basalt	B. Mus.	(Y.H. 10).
Piece of basalt mortar	F.P. Coll.	
Bronze situla	C. Mus.	(B. Met. 3467).
Piece of granite monument		(P. Cat. 3821).
Statuette of Neit by Peduneit, Karian inscrip.		(Rec. xii. 214).
Figure of Isis and Horus dedicated by Penub		(B. Mus. 23050).
Plaque, green glazed	P. Mus.	(P.L. S. h. 652).
Glazed vases. Posno	P. Mus.	(P.L. S. h. 382).
Wood, gilt, and inlaid with glass. Posno		(W.G. 621).
Menats	B. Mus.; Price Coll.	(P. Cat. 1736).
Scarabs, common. Plaque	F.P. Coll.	

YEAR			
III.	Stele of Peduamenapt	P. Mus.	(R.M.L. c. 101; Lb. D. 1137).
IV.	Stele	F. Mus.	(B.F. pl. 4).
IV.	Hieratic marriage sale	P. Mus.	(T.S.B.A. viii. 20).
XI.	Demotic contracts	Crawford 1, 2.	
XI. + x	Mendes stele		(B.T. 738).
XIV.	Graffito, Khonsu temple, Karnak		(W.G. 619).
XIX.	Demotic contract		(Not. 279).
XX.	Apis steles		(M.S. 36).
XXI.	Apis stele of Ptah-nefer		(Rec. xxii. 19).
XXI.	,, ,, Nesiptah		(Lb. D. 1139).
XXII.	Graffito, Khonsu temple, Karnak		(Pr. M. 35, 4).
XXX.	Demotic contract	Turin 246	(Not. 281).
XXX. + x	,, ,,	Vatican	(Not. 288).

YEAR			
XLV.	Demotic contract	Turin 247	(Not. 295).
XLVII.	,, ,,	Turin 248	(R.Q.T.D).
LI.	Pharbaethus stele		(B.T. 797).
LII.	Renewal of Serapeum.	P. Mus. steles, 239, 302, 315.	
LIII.	Apis born.		

Queens—

SHEPENAPT MUT·AR·RA·HENT·NEFERU (Rec. xvii. 118).

Memphis	Bronze plaque	(A.S. iii. 142).
Medinet Habu	Funeral chapel	(Rec. xvii. 118, xx. 74).
,,	Black granite altar	(Rec. xx. 75).
Karnak	Chapel of Osiris, lord of eternity	(A.S. iv. 181).
,,	Chapel of Osiris, lord of life	(Rec. xxiv. 209–12).
,,	Lintel C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 168, 177).
,,	Sphinxes C. Mus.; Berl. Mus.	(Berl. Cat. 7972).
Thebes	Statue, lower part	(G.F. viii.).
,,	,, upper part, Musée Guimet	(S.B.A. xiv. 331).

Wady Gasus with Neitaqert and Psamtek (See above; fig. 140).
Sandstone cartouche and alabaster block. F. P. Coll.
Plaque and scarab P. Mus., S. h. 456 (P.Sc. 1834–5).
Bronze box inlaid with gold and silver. P. Mus.

MEHTIENUSEKHT, wife of Psamtek (Rec. xx. 83).

Medinet Habu	Funeral chapel	(D.M.H. 40; Rec. xix. 21, xx. 83).
,,	Re-used pieces in temple, XVIII. dyn.	(L.D.T. iii. 157).

Son—Nekau (Hdtos. ii. 158).
Daughter—Neitaqert (Rec. xx. 83; A.Z. xxxv. 16, 24).

Officials—

Aba, keeper of temple of Amen (C.N. 553, 854;
Tomb 22, Assassif L.D. iii. 270–1;
Statuette. C. Mus. (A.S. v. 95) L.D.T. iii. 247).

Bakenranf sam, priest, vizier Tomb 24, Saqqara (L.D. iii. 259–69).
Sarcophagus. F. Mus. (S. Cat. F. 1705).

Mertiheru, scribe of Khonsu (C.N. 510; L.D.
Tomb 2, Assassif iii. 271–2).

Naskhepensekhet, vizier (B.T. 1066; Rec.
Granite figure, Frankfort viii. 65).

Nekau, priest of Psamtek
Scarab. B. Mus. 7114 a.

Pabasa, chief of the prophets, major-domo
Shrine (M.D. 91–2).
Black basalt Taurt (M.D. 90).

Samtaui Tafnekht
Statute, Memphis (M.D. 34 g).
Blocks in temple of Mut, Karnak (B.G.M. 370-9, xx.—).
Foot of statue, Herakleopolis (P.E. xxvii. 4).
Zedptahaufankh, general, statue, Karnak (Rec. xxvii. 81).
Zeher, priest of Psamtek
Sarcophagus. P. Mus. D. 8 (B.T. 948).

(Remains are known of many others whose names are lost, and others who bore names compounded with the king's name, but are not certainly of this reign).

The death of Nekau I., the vassal of Assyria, was probably due to the invasion by Tanutamen the Ethiopian, and Psamtek fled into Syria (Hdtos. ii. 152). Among the legends which circulated in Egypt some generations later, one of them seems to link on to the historic facts. Polyaenus (supposed to quote from Aristagoras of Miletos) states that the Pharaoh Tementhes was attacked by Psamtek with a body of Karian mercenaries. Tementhes may well be Tanutamen; and of the Greek troops we read of Karians and Ionians being persuaded by Psamtek to aid him in reconquering his father's dominion in the Delta (Hdtos. ii. 152). The legend of the twelve kings and the brazen bowls (Hdtos. i. 151), we have noted as being derived from a promising etymology of the name of Psamtek. Other Greek mercenaries were also brought in by Psamtek, notably the Lydians of Gyges, as stated by Ashurbanipal in his Annals, iii. 28 (R.P. i. 69).

The conquest of Psamtek is said to have been also by the help of the Egyptians who favoured him; and it was obvious that the intrusive Greek freebooters, who had helped him to his own, could not be relied on to uphold him as their master. To rule he must rely on Egyptians. Yet the Greek could not be neglected, he was too useful and also too powerful. The solution of the problem was to place the Greek as a frontier guard in special settlements, and so keep him from irritating the native Egyptian. Accordingly two great camps were formed of the Karians and Ionians on the eastern frontier (Hdtos. ii. 154). One of these camps is that of

Defneh, on the Pelusiac arm, about ten miles west of El Qantara, on the high road from Syria into Egypt. There a great fort stood, about 140 feet square, within a walled camp (P.T. ii. pls. xliii.-iv.). The hundreds of Greek vases found in the outbuilding of the fort



FIG. 137.—Psamtek I., Apis stele. Serapeum.

showed that this was a great settlement of the Greeks in the age of Psamtek; and it continued so until ruined by Amasis in favour of Naukratis, about a century after it was built. Under the corners of the fort were the foundation deposits of Psamtek, in gold, silver, copper, lead, lazuli, carnelian, etc. (P.T. ii. pl. xxii.); and in

the outbuildings were seals of wine jars of Psamtek I., Nekau, and Psamtek II. This Greek camp formed a place of refuge for the Jews during the frequent waves of Assyrian conquest, and last appears in the accounts of Jeremiah as Tahpanhes.

There is good reason to look on the great fort at Naukratis as a counterpart to that of Daphnae, intended to defend the western frontier, as the other did the eastern road. The town of Naukratis appears to be as old as that of Daphnae (P.N.K. i. 5), and the similarity of the two forts would lead us to regard them



FIG. 138.—Daphnae fort restored.

as parts of the same scheme of defence. This distribution of the garrison is mentioned by Herodotos: "In the reign of Psammitichos, garrisons were stationed at Elephantine against the Ethiopians, and at the Pelusian Daphnae against the Arabians and Syrians, and at Marea against Libya" (ii. 30). The southern guards were not Greeks but Egyptians, perhaps of the turbulent Mashawasha, who had figured for some centuries in the country (Ms. P.E. 499). And after three years they found the narrow stony valley of the frontier an unprofitable home, and deserted to the fat lands of the Sudan, where wives and plunder were plentiful. There

the Ethiopian king told them to clear out a disaffected province, and take it for themselves (Hdtos. ii. 30).

The reorganisation of Egypt, long distracted by civil war and invasions, must have occupied most of the activity of Psamtek. It repaid his care by rapidly rising in wealth and power, much as England did under Henry VII. after the wars of the Roses. The large number of splendid private monuments and statues show the riches of the bureaucracy, and the magnificence of the temples astounded the wandering Greek.

Some attempt at foreign conquest was made in Syria, though it only paved the way for the work of Nekau. There are two passages which seem to be connected, as referring to the same district, just north of Gaza, and the same length of time. "From Asia the Scythians proceeded to Egypt, and when they reached Palestine in Syria, Psammitichos, king of Egypt, having met them with presents and prayers, diverted them from advancing further. In their return they came to Ascalon and . . . pillaged the temple of Aphrodite Urania. . . . For 28 years, then, the Scythians governed Asia" (Hdtos. i. 105–6). "Psammitichos reigned in Egypt 54 years, during 29 of which he sat down before and besieged Azotos until he took it" (Hdtos. ii. 157). A vague contempt for these numbers has led to their being cast aside without any solid reason (Ms. P.E. 480, 506); but they ought to help to explain each other. The 28 years' dominion over Asia is the expression of what was seen by the Egyptian, namely, Scythians dwelling unsubdued on his frontier during that time; and how serious in Palestine was the front wave of the great Scythic flood of the 7th century, is seen by the important town of Scythopolis being named from them. What we may glean is that the Scythians swept along the rich Phoenician coast toward Syria. Psamtek was in possession of the frontier at Gaza, and there repelled them—more by force, perhaps, than by bribes. Foiled by him they plundered Ashkelon, while falling back a few miles to Ashdod; and there they maintained a front which the Egyptians attacked with

frequent attempts and assaults, but did not succeed in passing for 29 years. Such a version gives good sense and probability to both of these passages, and shows their connections.

The monuments of this reign show the rise in prosperity which attended the unification of the country under the Saites. Sais itself was fortified, and the great temple and burial-place for the royal family was built there. The defences of the country were well devised by placing a strong fort on each road, Daphnae on the Syrian road, Naukratis on the Libyan road, and Elephantine on the Ethiopian road. Memphis was not neglected, but received a full share of restoration by building a great southern portion to the temple. And the Apis worship was extended by making a large court for the sacred bull, where he was aired and fed; while the private devotion to this worship is shown by the large number of steles in the Serapeum.



FIG. 139.—Psamtek I., on slab. Brit. Mus. A.Z. xxxiii. 116.

But little was done in Upper Egypt, and Thebes was left entirely to the dominance of the Divine wife of Amen, as we shall notice below. The king seldom appears there, and no building took place, except the series of chapels in honour of the high priestesses. Even the register of high Nile levels, so frequent in the previous century, cease finally in the XIXth year. Thus the whole activity of the new dynasty was confined to the Delta, mainly in the old possessions of the family at Sais and Memphis.

From the portrait of the king on the slab from Alexandria, it is seen that he was not at all of the old Egyptian type; the round head, peaked nose, and shrewd business air have none of the dominant repose or melancholy refinement of the old royal lines.

The family arrangements become complicated by a system of adoptions, which, however, there is no good reason to credit before this time. The Ethiopian line

seems to have had two great queens, one at Napata, the other at Thebes, each the high priestess of Amen in her capital. This duplication was differently organised by Psamtek. The Theban priestess was nominated, but left childless, so that the line should be renewed by adoption of northern princesses; and the northern queens were the only queen-mothers of the dynasty.

SHEPENAPT took two cartouches as great queen in her own right under Taharqa; and all her monuments at Thebes belong to her earlier days under the Ethiopians,

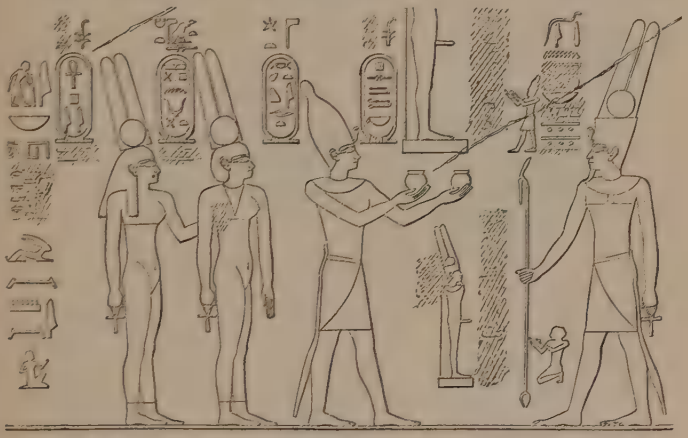


FIG. 140.—Psamtek, Neitaqert, and Shepenapt. Wady Gasus.

when she is named daughter of Pankhy and wife of Taharqa. She was left as ruler of Thebes by Psamtek, who was probably her nephew by his mother's side; but she is never once called wife of Psamtek, and her only link to the Saites is that she adopted his daughter Neitaqert, and so is called mother of that princess. In the Wady Gasus, Psamtek offers to Amen and Min, with Neitaqert, and her mother Shepenapt, daughter of Pankhy.

MEHTIENUSEKHT was the actual wife of Psamtek and

the mother of his daughter Neitaqert (Rec. xx. 83). She was the daughter of the high priest of Heliopolis, Horsiast, and so brought political influence to the rising Saite power.

The officials of this reign show in their private tombs the wealth and leisure of the age. They hardly need notice, beyond reference to their remains given above, as we know scarcely any public actions of theirs. Samtaui Tafnekht was, by his family name, doubtless a brother or cousin of the king. He was engaged in bringing down a fleet of produce from Ethiopia to Thebes, the records of which remain on some blocks in the temple of Mut at Thebes. There were nine ships, laden with a great cargo; most of them were 45 cubits

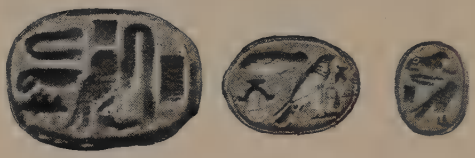


FIG. 141.—Scarabs of Psamtek I.

long and 15 wide, or about 77 by 26 feet. The ships named are: 1st, of Amen; 2nd, great ship of Sais with the captain of the host of Henen-suten, chief of the fleet, Samtaui Tafnekht; 3rd, of Pankhy—either a ship named from Pankhy II. or sent down by some king Pankhy III. at Napata; and the 7th the *harim* of Amen. The cargo consisted of over 100,000 dum palm nuts, 1500 turtle doves, 900 bundles of reeds, over 12,000 bundles of *nef* plants, and many other things. The sculpture shows the ships reaching the quay and temple of Karnak (B.G.M. 370–9, xx.–xxii.).

XXVI. 2. UAHEM·AB·RA  610–594 B.C.

NEKAU (II.) 

Sidon	Fragment of monument	(S.B.A. xvi. 91).
Rosetta	Block with cartouches	(R.S. ii. 131).
Sais burial	Heart scarab Jesuits' Coll., Paris	(Caylus, Rec. vii. x.).
Defenneh	Plaster sealing	(P.T. ii. xxxvi. 2).
Letopolis	Red granite statue, dedic. by Psamtek II.	(A.S. iv. 92).
Serapeum	Apis stele, yr. XVI.	(M.D.F.S. 53; Rec. xxii. 21).
Turra	Stele	(L.D. iii. 273 a; V.P. iii. 98).
Hammamat	Cartouches, yr. VIII.	(L.D. iii. 273 b).
Thebes	Kneeling figure of Benateh-hor P. Mus. A 83	(R.M.L., A. 83).

Bronze statuette, king offering Posno 54 (W.G. 630).
,, shrine B. Mus. 26973
Alabaster vases, P. Mus. S. h. 383; B. Mus. 4631 (W.M.C. fig. 275); Price Coll. (P. Cat. 2048).
Glazed pottery vase B. Mus. 24238 (P. Sc. 1963).
Pottery base of hawk C. Mus.
Demotic papyrus, yr. II. P. Mus. 7858 (Not. p. 302).
Scarab, large, inscription of conquests C. Mus. (M.D. 48 c; M.A.B. 36).
Scarabs, 2 F.P. Coll.
Glass plaque F.P. Coll.
Menat, blue paste, *sam* priest Pedu . . . F.P. Coll.
Menat P. Mus. S. h. 653 (P.L. 653).
Limestone cylinder F.P. Coll. (P. Sc. 1962).
Pawns P. Mus. S. h. 654 (P.L. 654); B. Mus. 6414 a, 38254.

Queen—NEITAQERT MUTNEBNEFRU.

Thebes Sarcophagus, red granite. C. Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 30).
,, Stele of adoption, Karnak (A.Z. xxxv. 16, 24).
,, In funeral chapel, Medinet Habu (Rec. xx. 83).
,, Limestone slab, queen offering. C. Mus.
,, Basalt statue of Osiris. C. Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 182).
,, Socket of Horus, dedicated by Horsiast. Hoffman Coll. 366
,, Glazed pottery. P. Mus. (P.L. S. h. 456).

Son—Psamtek (II.) (mother unknown) (Hdtos. ii. 159).

Horuza—Warden of the frontier, bust (P.S. xxi. 5).
F.P. Coll.

The main event of this reign was the great raid across Syria to Carchemish (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chr. xxxv. 20). On his way Nekau was attacked by Josiah, who remained a faithful vassal of Nineveh; but the Egyptian swept him aside by a defeat in which the Jewish king perished at Megiddo. Nekau then took Kadesh (Hdtos. ii. 159), and pushed on to the Euphrates. He did not wait to see if any foe would there challenge his advance, but he returned as quickly as he went; and three months after passing Megiddo he was back again in northern Palestine at Riblah (2 Kings xxiii. 33), where he summoned Jehoahaz, who had succeeded Josiah. Nekau deposed the new king, and set up his brother, who took the name of Jehoiakim. Here Nekau saw a source of tribute, and demanded 100 talents of silver and 1 talent of gold, which had to be raised by rigorous taxation of the private wealth of the Jews, so far was the Jewish treasury below the standard of wealth of Rehoboam and Hezekiah. Recognising the share which his Greek mercenaries had in the campaign, Nekau dedicated his corslet to Apollo at Branchidae.



FIG. 142.—Scarab of Nekau II.

Nekau, however, kept some hold upon Syria; and in 605 B.C., four years later, he was again at Carchemish to fight Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. xlvi. 2). The new power of Babylon there defeated him, and henceforward Nekau kept within the borders of Egypt (2 Kings xxiv. 7).

His ambitions were not only northward, but he aimed at opening the Red Sea trade again. He began the canal, which Darius afterwards completed, from the eastern delta along the Wady Tumilat to Suez; this was four days' sail in length, and so wide that triremes could pass each other. In connection with this project of a trade route, he built triremes in the

Red Sea, of which Herodotos saw the docks yet remaining (ii. 159).

Of his monuments, one fragment was found as far north as Sidon. But there is no great building to be attributed to the reign, although quarrying went on at Turra and Hammamat; and probably Horuza, whose statue is known, worked at the latter place cutting great obelisks of *bekhen* stone (P.S. xxi. 5). Of the royal burial at Sais, a trace remained in the heart scarab of the king, which was formerly in the Jesuits' College at Paris, but which seems to have disappeared, probably in the Revolution. The third Apis of this dynasty, born at the end of Psamtek's reign, lived to the end of Nekau's reign, dying in the XVIth year. The funeral stele of this Apis is one of the best of later times. That Nekau ruled at Thebes is shown by a diorite kneeling figure of Benateh·hor, priest of Amen, at Thebes, who is represented holding a stele on which Nekau offers to the Theban triad (P. Mus. A. 83). The minor objects are of no historic value, except the large scarab at Cairo, which refers to his conquests of all lands, and shows the king between Neit and Hathor.

The queen Neitaqert must have ruled at Thebes as high priestess throughout this reign; but she is never called wife of Nekau. She was adopted formally by Shepenapt, in the 9th year of Psamtek, when she cannot have been more than 15 years old. She had large estates as her private possession in middle Egypt and the Delta, and the tithings from many of the temples of the Delta. The stele recording her legal position is of red granite, found at Karnak (A.Z. xxxv. 16, 24). Her sarcophagus is in the Cairo Museum. Another queen Takhuat has commonly been attributed to Nekau, but apparently only by the inscription on the sarcophagus of Ankh·nes·ra·nefer·ab. We must remember, however, that adoptions by the Theban priestesses were the rule, and how of Neitaqert it is said that "her mother was the divine adoress Shepenapt," and yet she was "born of the great royal wife, chief one of his majesty, Mehtenusekht" (Rec. xx. 83). So here

Ankhnesraneferab is called "royal daughter of the lord of both plains, Psamtek. Her mother was the divine

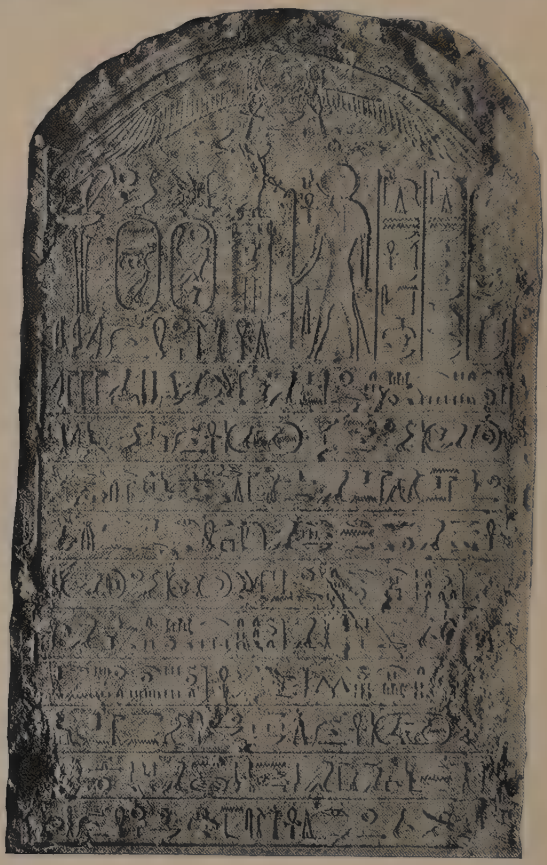


FIG. 143.—Nekau II., Apis stele. Serapeum.

adoress Neitaqert, born of the great royal wife, chief one of his majesty, Takhuat" (B.S.A. 383, 488). The

phrase is exactly as in the previous generation, and Takhuat is the natural mother, while Neitaqert was the adopted mother of Ankhnesraneferab. Thus Takhuat was the wife of Psamtek II., and the wife of Nekau is still unknown. The ages will agree to this. Psamtek I., born 690 B.C., was father of Neitaqert, born about 665 B.C.; and Psamtek II., born 646 B.C., was father of Ankhnesraneferab, born therefore 620 B.C. So the approximate dates (A.S. v. 88) of the Theban queens are—

	Born.	Acting.	Died.
Shapenapt	700	680	655
Neitaqert	665	655	586
Ankhnesraneferab	620	586	560 ?

At this point we may give the fixed datings which result from the new system of stating the birth, death, and age of an Apis or a man, a record which is quite unknown before in Egypt—

	Born.	Lived.	Died.
	y. m. d.	y. m. d.	y. m. d.
Apis, in Psamtek I.	liii. 6, 19	xvi. 7, 17	xvi. 2, 6 Nekau (Rec. xxii. 21).
Psamtek, in Nekau	i. 11, 1	lxv. 10, 2	xxvii. 8, 28 Aahmes (L.L.S. xxv. p. 130).
Psamtek, in Nekau	iii. 10, 1	lxxi. 4, 6	xxxv. 2, 6 Aahmes (S. Cat. F. 1640; R.S. 152).
Apis, in Nekau	xvi. 2, 7	xvii. 6, 5	xii. 8, 12 Haa·abra (P. Ins. i. xxi.).
Besmaut, in Psamtek	xviii.	xcix.	xxiii. Aahmes (Ms. Q.G. 266).

These data give liv. 0. 0 for the reign of Psamtek, xl. 0. 5 for Nekau to Haa·ab·ra inclusive, xl. 0. 1 for the same, xxi. 0. 0 for Nekau and Psamtek II.; hence 19 for the reign of Haa·ab·ra. The absence of odd months and days for the lengths of reign (except irregularities) shows that the dates are in fixed months of the year, and that the years were counted from new year's day. From a stele (A.S. v. 86) we see that Psamtek II. reigned from before year i. 11. 29 to year vii. 1. 23, or over 5 years and 59 days; also Neitaqert died on year iv. 12. 4 of Haa·ab·ra.

XXVI. 3. NEFER·AB·RA



594–589 B.C.

PSAMTEK (II.)



Rosetta	Fragment of stone	(W.G. 634).
Damanhur	Base or tank C. Mus.	(A.Z. xxii. 79).
Naukratis	Scarabs	(P.N.K. i. xxxviii. 184).
Tanis	Glazed disc	(P.T. i. xii. 25).
Hermopolis	Bronze fitting of door	(B. Rec. i. x. 7).
Defneh	Plaster sealing	(P.T. ii. xxxvi. 3).
Naharieh	Block	(L.D.T. i. 4).
Athribis	Seal of priest	(B. Rec. i. x. 6).
Heliopolis	Altar, Pompei Naples Mus.	(A.Z. vi. 85).
Letopolis	Statue of Nekau, by Psamtek	(A.S. iv. 92).
Gizeh	Fragment of granite statue Berl. Cat. 2275	(L.D. iii. 273 c).
Turra	Block drawn with name on cornice	(V.P. iii. pl. at 103).
,,	Cartouches	(V.P. iii. pl. at 102).
Memphis	Bronze plaques	(A.S. iii. 141).
Hammamat	Yr. III.	(L.D. iii. 275 e).
Karnak	Blocks by Ptolemaic temple D	(M.K. p. 9).
,,	Chamber N. of sanctuary	(C.N. ii. 144).
,,	On column of Taharqa, altered names	(C.N. ii. 8).
Silsileh	Block with name	(W.G. 633).
Philae	Shrine	(L.D. iii. 274 d).
Elephantine	Cartouches	(M.I. i. 114).
Bigeh	,,	(C.N. i. 163).
Konosso	,,	(M.I. i. 69).
Abu Simbel	Greek inscriptions	(L.D. vi. 98 . . .).

Torso, basalt, badly restored	P. Mus. Cambridge	(P.L. S. h. 29). (Y.L. xiii. 38).
,, ,,		
Obelisk, red granite	Monte Citorio, Rome	(G.O. 133; P.T.O. ii.).
Intercolumnar slab, grey granite	Vienna	(Rec. ix. 53).
Bronze figure of Neit	L. Mus. A. 53	(L.M.E. 3).
,, base of Neit	L. Mus. D. 121	(L. Mon. pl. xxi.).
,, hinges	C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 264).
Schist, kneeling figure of Besa, holding naos	Marseille	(Ms. C.M. 14).

Stele of Hormertiaa, nurse of king	C. Mus.	(A.Z. xxv. 120).
Demotic papyrus, yr. IV.	P. Mus. 709.	(Corpus, pl. viii.).
,, ,, ,, V.		(Corpus, xix. 18).
,, ,, ,, V.	P. Mus. 7857 A	(Not. 309).
,, ,, ,, VI.	P. Mus. 7857 B	(Not. 310).
Sistrum handle	B. Mus. 34203	
Scarabs, common.		

Queen—TAKHUAT.

Sarcophagus of Ankhnes		(B.S.A. 383, 488).

Sons—

Uahabra		(Hdtos. ii. 161).
Psamtek, naos of Neferabra·nefera	C. Mus.	(Rec. xvi. 46).

Daughters—

Ankhnes·ra·nefer·ab	Sarcophagus	(B.S.A. 383, 488).
Neitmertefs	Naos of Neferabra·nefera C. Mus.	(Rec. xvi. 46).
..... sentimery		
Astkhebt		

Nespahor, treasurer.

Basalt figure	Bubastis	(N.B. xliii. D).

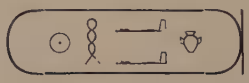
The expedition to Nubia is the only event known in this reign. It is mentioned by Herodotos (ii. 161), and the inscriptions of the Greek mercenaries still remain upon the colossi at Abu Simbel. These have been attributed to Psamtek I., but on both Greek and Egyptian grounds they are probably of the present reign. The king went up to Elephantine, and from there Potasimto (Pedu·sam·taui) led the foreigners, and Amasis led the Egyptians, on to "above Kerkis, to where the river ceases." A party with Psammatikhos, son of Theokles, cut the main inscription on the leg of one of the colossi of Ramessu II. Other foreigners, Greeks, Karians, and Syrians, also recorded their names.

The main activity of Psamtek II. seems to have been in monuments, principally in Upper Egypt, which apparently now obtained a share of the attention which the previous kings had concentrated on the Delta. This shows a strengthening of the Egyptian as against the Greek influences, which movement culminated in the revolt of Aahmes in the next reign.

The so-called sarcophagus found at Damanhur has nothing to show its purpose; it may have been an animal sarcophagus, a tank, or a basis, but there is no evidence that this king was buried in it, and therefore the conclusions about his age are baseless. There are scenes around it of the king offering to various divinities. A few pieces of furniture and small objects have been found in the Delta, and the fort of Defneh continued to be used. The quarries at Turra, Hammamat, and Silsileh were visited to obtain materials for the buildings. And the shrine at Philae and cartouches on the rocks of that neighbourhood are probably due to the king living there during the Nubian expedition.

Of the portable monuments, the obelisk now at the Monte Citorio was formerly in the Campus Martius, and is sometimes called Campensis. It has been much injured and repaired. There are not many small remains of the reign, except scarabs; these are common, but of poor work.

The queen Takhuat is only known on the sarcophagus of her daughter Ankhnes·ra·nefer·ab, and her relationship as wife of Psamtek has been pointed out in the previous reign. Uahabra became king, but none of the other children are known except on the naos of Neferabra·nefera.

XXVI. 4. HAA·AB·RA 

589–570 B.C.

UAH·AB·RA 

Tomb	Sais		(Hdtos. ii. 169; A.S. ii. 237).
Defneh	Glazed plaque		(P.T. ii. xl. 7).
Tell Rob Sinbellawin, naos		C. Mus.	(A.Z. xxii. 90).
Horbeyt	Bronze lion	C. Mus.	(M.D. 41; fig. 144).
Fuah	Blocks of granite		(My. E. 147).

Sais	Basalt Hathor column C. Mus.	(A.S. ii. 239).
,,	Ushabti	(A.S. ii. 237).
Naharieh	Block	(L.D. iii. 274 h, i).
Heliopolis	Obelisk Rome, Piazza Minerva	(P.T.O. iii.).
,,	Obelisk Urbino	(W.G. 643).
,,	Granite block (,,)	
Memphis	Scene of founding temple	(C.M. 443).
,,	Inscription of doorkeeper of Ptah Berl. 2111	(Berl. Cat.).
,,	Stele, offerings to Ptah	(M.D. 30 b; A.Z. xxviii. 103).
,,	Bronze plaque	(A.S. iii. 141).
,,	Fragment of lintel Cairo	(L.D. iii. 274 g).
Serapeum	Stele, yr. XII.	(Mar. Choix Mons. Serap. vii.; P. Ins. i. 21).
,,	Steles, yr. XIV., gift of land	(Rec. xxv. 58).
,,	Steles P. Mus.	(352, 368, 369, 448, 457, 467, 473, 1243).
,,	Stele, Karian inscr.	(Ms. Q.G. 345).
Bahriyehoasis, Two temples.		
Tuneh, naos	C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 170).
Abydos	Restoration of a royal tomb	(P.R.T. i. xxxviii.).
,,	Red granite naos	(P. Ab. i. lxviii.).
,,	Foundation deposit	(P. Ab. i. lxx.).
Karnak	Fragment of statue B. Mus. 600.	
Biban el Meluk	Entrance, cartouches	(L.D. iii. 274 k).
E. Silsileh	Cartouches	(L.D. iii. 274 m).
N. of Aswan	,,	(M.I. i. 207).
Bigeh	,,	(L.D. iii. 274 l).
Konosso	,,	(M.I. i. 69).
Sphinxes, quartzite, Alexandria		(A.S. v. 127).
Sphinx, bronze	P. Mus. S. h. 267	(Ms. P.E. 542).
Bronze vases	C. Mus. 3463	(Bissing Metallg.).
,, band	Vienna	(Rec. ix. 52).
Agate seal with king's head	B. Mus.	(P. Sc. 1985).
Demotic papyrus, yr. X.	B. Mus.	(Not. 310).
,, ,,	P. Mus. 7852	(Not. 314).
Broken lion	C. Mus.	(W.G. 644).
Alabaster plaque	P. Mus.	(P. Sc. 1988).
Sistra handles	F.P. Coll.; P. Mus.	(P.L. S. h. 655).
Menat	P. Mus.	(P.L. S. h. 456).
Plaques, Turin, Vienna B. Mus. 4118 a; Berl. Mus. 7744; P. Mus.		(P.L. S. h. 656–7).
Helmeted head vase, Naukratite	P. Mus.	(Gaz. Arch. vi. 145).
Rams' heads Wilbour	B. Mus.	(P. Sc. 1982).
Scarabs, common; large one	C. Mus.	(P. Sc. 1990).
Sealing of clay		(Rec. xx. 133).

Neshor, general, statue	P. Mus. A. 90	(P.R. i. 22; A.Z. xxii. 88).
Nesuben stele	Turin	
Pef·nefa·neit, major-domo	B. Mus.	(A.Z. xxxi. 88).
Pen·sekhet, priest, coffin	Berl. 2108	(L.D. iii. 271 c, d).
Tapert, lived 70 y. 4 m. 14 d.		(A.Z. xxviii. 10).
An official with joint pectoral of Psamtek II. and Haa·ab·ra	F.P. Coll.	

To avoid confusion between this king and Psamtek I. it should be noted that Uah·ab·ra is the throne-name of Psamtek, but the personal name of Haa·ab·ra.

The first act of Uahabra appears to have been an attempted intervention in the affairs of Palestine, owing to Zedekiah "sending his ambassadors to Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people" (Ezek. xvii. 15). The Egyptians responded by coming up to Palestine; but "Pharaoh's army, which is come forth to help you, shall return to Egypt, unto their own land" (Jer. xxxvii. 7), and they did not attempt to dispute Nebuchadrezzar's sphere of influence in Palestine. The next year Jerusalem fell, the Babylonian set up his own governor, who was overthrown; and after this "Johanan the son of Kareah and all the captains of the forces took all the remnant of Judah, . . . men, and women and children, and the king's daughters, . . . and Jeremiah the prophet . . ., so they came into the land of Egypt, . . . thus came they to Tahpanhes," as Jeremiah relates (xlii. 5); and so to this day Tahpanhes, or Defneh, is called the Fort of the Jew's Daughter. And Jeremiah took great stones, and "hid them in the clay of the paved area (A.V. brick-kiln) which is at the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes," and prophesied that Nebuchadrezzar would "spread his royal pavilion over them." In the clearing of the fortress of Tahpanhes the paved area before the entrance was actually found, and was a place quite suitable for setting up a royal tent (P.T. ii. 50). The absence of any royal wine jars of this reign agrees with the place having been given up to the Jewish fugitives; and such exiles would have been a useful frontier guard, certain not to league with the Babylonian.

Some years were spent in quiet prosperity in Egypt, with the Asiatic temptation cut off by the power of Nebuchadrezzar. But some time between 574 B.C. and 569 B.C., after Tyre had been crushed by Babylon, Egypt again tried for a footing, defeated the remains of the Phoenician fleet and its Cypriote allies, and captured Sidon. Other cities submitted, and in Gebal a temple was built (Ms. P.E. 550).

A fresh opening for action presented itself when the crowd of Greek immigrants to Cyrene dispossessed the Libyan chief Adikran, who appealed to Egypt for support. The conditions were reversed from the day when Libya invaded Egypt; for now, threatened by a swarm of colonists, it looked for help to the descendants of its kinsmen, who had become the lords of Egypt. Uahabra "having assembled a large army of Egyptians, sent it against Cyrene; and the Cyrenians, having drawn out their forces to the district of Irasa, and near the fountain Thestes, came to an engagement with the Egyptians, and conquered them; for the Egyptians, not having before made trial of the Greeks, and despising them, were so thoroughly defeated that only a few of them returned to Egypt. In consequence of this, the Egyptians, laying the blame on Apries, revolted from him" (Hdtos. iv. 159). "Both those who returned and the friends of those who perished being very indignant at this, openly revolted against him" (Hdtos. ii. 161).

The revolt was met by Uahabra sending, to quell the disturbance, an active man of no great rank named Aahmes. But they acclaimed him as king. Uahabra then sent another envoy named Patarbemis to bring Aahmes before him. An insolent message was the only reply, for bringing which the unhappy envoy immediately lost his nose and ears. This burst of passion cost Uahabra his kingdom; for he was deserted by his Egyptian adherents, who went over to Aahmes. There remained only the Greek mercenaries, who, strange to say, had not been alienated by the attack on the Greek colonists of Cyrenaica. Uahabra armed them, and

marched with 30,000 Karian and Ionian Greeks to attack Aahmes. The great battle took place at Momemphis, which is probably Menouf, west of Benha. But the king was beaten, and taken back as a prisoner to Sais. Here he was maintained in honour for some time, and a joint reign of Uahabra and Aahmes was proclaimed. But as this period falls into the regnal years of Aahmes it will be taken as part of his reign.

Of the monuments, the main objects from the Delta are the beautiful quartzite shrine from Tell Rob and the great bronze lion from Horbeyt. The obelisks which were removed to Rome probably came from



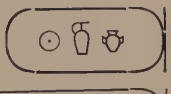
FIG. 144.—Bronze lion of Haa'ab'ra. Cairo Mus. M.D. 41.

Heliopolis. At Memphis there was some building at the end of the reign, and a large number of steles were dedicated at the Apis burial. At Abydos some rebuilding at the temple of Tahutmes III. was done, the cartouche plaques of Uahabra and Aahmes being found together on the top of the pits which contained the earlier deposits. And a splendid naos of red granite was dedicated, of which portions of the top and side remain. The king seems to have visited the royal tombs at Abydos, and made repairs there; also the tombs of the kings at Thebes, the quarries of Silsileh, and the first cataract, where his cartouches are found. This was apparently in his Nubian war, which is undated, but is described on the statue of his general,

Nes·hor, who records that he overcame the Amu, Hanebu, and Sati, who probably belonged to the Egyptian mercenaries of the southern frontier.

Of the minor objects, the bronze sphinx in Paris is the principal piece. The agate seal of a tall, conical form is not Egyptian in shape or material, and is probably the work of a Greek engraver. The green glazed vase in the form of the helmeted head of a Greek is evidently a product of the Greek potters of Naukratis.

XXVI. 5. KHNUM·AB·RA



570–526 B.C.

AAHMES·SI·NEIT



Tomb in temenos at Sais (Hdtos. ii. 169, iii. 16).

N.W. Delta	Stele, yr. I.	(Rec. xv. 87).
Kom Afrin	Bronze hawk aegis B. Mus.	(P. Nk. i. xii.).
Defneh	Plaster sealing	(P.T. ii. xxxvi. 5).
,,	Bronze ring	(P.T. ii. xli. 76).
Nebesheh	Temple and deposits	(P.T. ii. v.).
,,	Granite shrine of Uazet	(P.T. ii. iv.).
Thmuis	Granite shrine	(D.E. v. 29; B. Ex. 41).
Sais	Portico of Neit	(Hdtos. ii. 175).
,,	Great naos, red granite	(,,).
,,	Colossal statue	(Hdtos. ii. 176).
,,	Andro-sphinxes	(Hdtos. ii. 175; Iseum, Rome; S.M.E.I. Tav. 1–2; S. Maria Minerva, Rome).
,,	Granite altar B. Mus.	
Mehallet el Kebir	Block of black granite	(Rec. xxii. 142).
Bubastis	Stele, yr. III. C. Mus.	(Ms. G. 26; A Z. xxiii. 11).
,,	Building at, yr. XXXIV. Berl. Mus. 8439	(A.Z. ix. 60).

Bubastis	Sistrum handle Baudry Coll.	(A.Z. xix. 116).
,,	Wax (?) seal C. Mus.	(Ms. G. 99).
Athribis	Naos, red granite P. Mus. D. 29	(P.R. i. 74).
,,	Altar, granite	(W.G. 655).
,,	Seal A. Mus.	(,,).
Heliopolis	Kneeling bronze figure holding vases	(Tano, 1904, Paris).
Memphis	Colossus before temple of Ptah, 75 ft. high	(Hdtos. ii. 176).
,,	Two granite colossi, 20 ft.	(,,).
,,	Temple of Isis	(,,).
,,	Scene of founding temple, with Uahabra	(C.M. 443).
,,	Naos, black granite C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 176).
,,	Two blocks	(L.D.T. i. 204).
,,	Bronze plaques	(A.S. iii. 141).
Cairo	Stone in citadel	(R.S. iv. 203, pl. cliii.).
,,	Stele of death of Uahabra	(Rec. xxii. 1).
,, south	Red sandstone sphinx and shrine?	(Rec. xi. 98).
Bulaq	Block quartzite	(A.S. iii. 93).
Serapeum	Stele, Apis, Vth–XXIIIrd yr.	(Rec. xxii. 20).
,,	11 steles in P. Mus.	(W.G. 656; Rec. xxii. 171).
,,	Stele of Khnum·ab·ra	(Rec. xxv. 50).
,,	Bronze shield C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 267).
Abydos	Naos, red granite, pieces	(P. Ab. i. lxviii.).
,,	Altar, red granite	(P. Ab. i. lxix.).
,,	Repairs of Osiris temple, statue P. Mus.	(A.Z. xxxii. 118).
,,	Deposits	(P. Ab. i. lxx.).
Hammamat	Inscriptions, XLIVth yr. etc.	(L.D. iii. 275 b, c, d).
,,	Genealogy of architects	(L.D. iii. 275 a).
Koptos	Chapel of Osiris	(P. Kop. 17).
Karnak	Temple H, offering to Min and Amen	(L.D. iii. 274 n, o).
Elephantine	Cartouches	(P.S. xi. 302).
Philae	On re-used blocks, great court	(A.Z. xxiii. 13).
Bigeh	Cartouches	(L.D. iii. 274 c).
Konosso	,,	(M.I. i. 69).
Sehel	,,	(M.I. i. 84).

Statue, torso.	Villa Albani	(R.S. iv. 204).
Statuette.	Sabatier Coll.	(Rec. xiv. 55).
Squatting figure.	Cambridge.	

Head in bronze, fine. C. Mus. (W.G. 656).
Ushabtis (Sais). F.P. Coll.; Berl. Mus. 7483; C. Mus. (Rec. xvii. 14).
Portrait (R.S. xiii. 53).
Naos, red granite. L. Mus. (L. Mon. C. 9, xxxv.-vi.; L.M.E. 42).
Slab. Berl. Mus. (Berl. Cat. 14126).
Bronze fittings of door. T. Mus.; C. Mus. (B. Rec. i. 10, 8).
Green glazed plaque. Hoffmann Coll. 197.
Vases. T. Mus., fragment; P. Mus., S. h. 384; L. Mus., H. 441, pl. lxvii.).
Sistrum handles, common.
Menats, common.
Weight. B. Mus.
Clay seal with Uahabra (Rec. xx. 133).
Scarabs. B. Mus.; Turin Mus.; C. Mus. (M.D. 32).
Demotic papyri (see Not. 322–55), yrs. II. III. (Crawford, iii.–vi.); yrs. III. VI. VIII. (P. Mus. 7861, 7860, 7853); yr. VIII. (Crawford, v. vii. viii.); yr. XII. (P. Mus. 7841, 7855, 7848, 7846, 7859 A); yrs. XV. XVI. XVII. (P. Mus. 7851 A, 7844, 7845 A, B); yr. XIX. (P. Mus. 7856 A, B, C, 7847 A, 7840 *bis*); yr. XXXI. (P. Mus. 7842, B. Mus.); yrs. XXXII.–IV. (P. Mus. 7832, 7840 A, B, C, 7835); yr. XXXV. (P. Mus. 7838, 7834, 7836, 7843); yr. XXXVI. (P. Mus. 7833, 7835); yr. XXXVIII. P. Mus. 7450); yr. XXXII. and on, see Corpus).

Mother of king—TA·KHRED·EN·AST (Rec. xxii. 143).

Queens—

THENTKHETA.
Serapeum stele (Rec. xxi. 63).

NEKHTSEBASTRU.
Sarcophagus. E. Mus. (G.E. 96).
Serapeum stele (Rec. xxii. 171).

MUT·MERY·HEQ·NEFERTU, ANKHNES·RA·NEFER·AB. (A.S. v. 86, 90).
Sarcophagus. Brit. Mus. (B.S.A.)
Karnak, temple H (L.D. iii. 274 o).
,, ,, J (M.K. 56 a, c; L.D. iii. 273 e-h, 274 a, c).
Slab, Berlin (273 f in Berlin, 2112).
Basalt statuette. C. Mus. Scarab. F.P. Coll. (A.S. v. 90).

Sons of Thentkheta, Psamtek (III.) (Rec. xxi. 63).
,, Nekhtsebastru, Aahmes, sarcophagus. E. Mus. (G.E. 94).
,, ,, Pasenkhonsu (Rec. xxii. 171; B.T. 637).

Hor·pa·uahem	Bronze, Min-Amen. B. Mus.	(A.B. iii. 4).
Pedubast	Grey limestone stele. Fahrmann Coll.	(A.Z. xix. 117).
Peduneit	Major-domo of Ankhnes	(Ms. Q.G. 177).
Pef·zau·aui·neit	Fanbearer, statue, Abydos. P. Mus. A 93	(P.R. ii. 39; A.Z. xxxii. 118).
,,	Fanbearer, sandstone slab. C. Mus. 671.	
Psamtek, A.	Stele, born in Nekau, yr. I.	(L.L.S. xxv. p. 130).
Psamtek, B.	,, ,, yr. III.	(R.S. 152).
Psamtek, C.	Feet of statue. B. Mus.	(Y.L. xii. 37).
Sheshenq	Major-domo of Ankhnes·ra·nefer·ab	(L.D. iii. 273 e, f, 274 c, o).
,,	Tomb, Assassif	(C.N. i. 552).
,,	Grey marble statuette of Isis. P. Mus. S. h. 25	(P.L. S. h.).
,,	Clay sealing. F.P. Coll.	
Uzahorresneit	Admiral (see Cambyses).	

Aahmes is stated by Herodotos (ii. 172) to have come from Siuf near Sais; this is probably the modern Es Seffeh, 6 miles N. of Sais. It has been supposed that he is the same as the high official who dedicated the libation basin (P. Mus. D. 50; P.R. i. 82); but that was a later man, as on his father's sarcophagus the official Aahmes has his name in a cartouche, showing that the name was borrowed from a king, while this man was yet an official (A.Z. xxviii. 10).

The monuments of the joint-reign of Uahabra and Aahmes conclusively show that for some years Uahabra remained a political prisoner under the power of his nominal co-regent Aahmes. Of this period is a clay seal with the cartouches of Khnum·ab·ra and Haa·ab·ra together (Rec. xx. 133); the scene of founding a temple at Memphis (C.M. 443), which is being done by Uahabra, followed by a royal *ka* of Aahmes (truly his evil genius shadowing him); the granite shrine at Abydos (P. Ab. i. lxviii.), which has the names of Uahabra on the pyramidion, and Aahmes on a piece which is almost certainly part of the side; the mixed foundation deposits at Abydos of Uahabra with one piece of Aahmes (P. Ab. i. lxx.); and, lastly, the all-important stele of the death of Uahabra (Rec. xxii. 1). Of this, the following is an abstract.

In the IIIrd year, month of Pauni (about the end of October), Aahmes told his Council that Haa·ab·ra had left his confinement at Sais in a Greek boat, numberless Greeks were going through the north land, and he acted as if there was no one over him: that he called the Greeks and gave them a residence in Pehu An (possibly Naukratis), and they infested Egypt up to Sekhet Mafek (Terraneh). Aahmes then assembled the notables. He reminded them that every battle that the king had led had been disastrous; but that God



FIG. 145.—Haa·ab·ra founding temple. C.M. 443.

called them now, and they only needed to be bold to overcome the intruders. They replied most obsequiously, that he was master by the will of God, that he had a large army, and all his people were happy and flourishing. So Aahmes assembled his troops and mounted his chariot. A first fight took place at Andropolis, in which his troops won, and he offered booty without end in the temples. But on Hathor 8 (18th March) news came that thousands more of the Greek party were about. Aahmes then addressed his troops, started, and overran the land like a tempest. So the

party of Uahabra murdered the prince, who was resting in his boat. And Aahmes, seeing his friend (!) slain, interred him, and pardoned him his sin to the gods.

This is the contemporary official version of the tale of Herodotos: "But at length the Egyptians complaining that he did not act rightly in preserving a man who was the greatest enemy both to them and to him, he thereupon delivered Apries to the Egyptians; but they strangled him, and afterwards buried him in his ancestral sepulchre; this is in the temenos of Athene, very near the temple, on the left hand as you enter" (ii. 169). The co-regency thus lasted only three years; and this does not accord with the statement of Herodotos that Apries reigned 25 years; for his sole reign was 19 years, as shown by the steles before quoted, and so he died in the 22nd year of his reign. He left no son, for when Cambyses sent to claim a daughter of Aahmes in marriage — "There was a daughter of Apries, the former king, very tall and beautiful, the only survivor of the family; her name was Nitetis. This damsel, Amasis, having adorned her with cloth of gold, sent to Persia" (Hdtos. iii. 1). And this sufficed to give room for the Egyptian fiction of unbroken royal descent, even in the case of a Persian conqueror of the land.

The first act of Aahmes, when he ruled alone, was to satisfy the old Egyptian party at the expense of the Greeks, whom he had thrice defeated. The intrusive Greek had settled into the land on the west up to Terraneh, and on the east at Daphnae, where he had docks and shipping, beside doubtless many other centres of petty trade. So Aahmes gave Naukratis entirely over to the Greeks, "and if any man arrived at any other mouth of the Nile, he was obliged to swear 'that he had come there against his will,' and having taken such an oath, he must sail in the same ship to the Canobic mouth" (Hdtos. ii. 179). That this state of things was established by Aahmes, and was not older, is proved by the earlier settlement of the Greeks at Daphnae, which came to an end in the

time of Aahmes, as Herodotos describes (ii. 154). As giving such a great monopoly to Naukratis, he was naturally extolled there as a patron; but his action was really a severe restraint of the Greeks to one treaty port, after the Egyptians had entirely vanquished the Greek mercenaries.

The weakening of Egypt by these civil wars gave an opportunity to the Babylonian. And in 568 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar marched into the Delta. The sturdy Greek troops were gone, Daphnae was deserted, and the road into Egypt lay open. It is certain that he fought with Aahmes (A.Z. xxii. 88), and at that time—with only a damaged half of an army—Aahmes is not likely to have tried to re-enter Syria. So the cylinder inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar found in the isthmus of Suez (Ms. G. 5830–31) may be accepted as showing that he did at least enter the Delta, and pitch his royal pavilion before the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes, as Jeremiah states. Eastern affairs took care of themselves, however, for the rest of the reign; the rising power of Persia prevented any distant wars being undertaken by Babylon. Aahmes therefore strengthened himself during this peace by alliances with the inevitable Greek. The great princes of Asia Minor, Kroesos of Lydia (Hdtos. i. 77) and Polykrates of Samos (H. iii. 39), became his allies; he nominated Battos III. of Cyrene (Ms. P.E. 645); and he ingratiated himself with the independent cities by rich presents—gilt statues of Neit and Aphrodite to Cyrene, and his own portrait painted; two stone statues and a marvellous linen corslet to Athena at Lindos; two statues of himself to Hera at Samos; and another exquisite corslet at Sparta, afterwards seized by the Samians (Hdtos. ii. 181, 2; iii. 44). He also gave a munificent present of 1000 talents of alum for the rebuilding of the temple of Delphi (H. ii. 180). Egypt became fashionable with the Greeks, and Solon visited Aahmes (H. i. 30). Having carried out the policy of the earlier kings, and established a fighting fleet in the Mediterranean, Aahmes was able to capture Cyprus,

and levy a tribute on that land (H. ii. 182), an anticipation of the firm hold that the Ptolemies had three centuries later.

The activities of the reign were largely spent in monumental works. To Aahmes are due the temple and granite monolith naos at Nebesheh; the great granite naos of Thmuis, 23½ ft. high, and the greatest naos of all at Sais, 32 ft. high, 21 deep through, and 12 wide; this last was left on its side and never erected, probably owing to the Persian invasion. It was by no



FIG. 146.—Basalt sphinx of Aahmes II., Rome. S.M.E.I. i.

means so heavy as the Ramesside colossi, but consisted of 4000 cubic feet of granite, which weighed about 300 tons. Some of the andro-sphinxes named by Herodotos are apparently those now in Rome.

At Memphis the temple of Isis is attributed to this reign, and rebuilding in the temple of Ptah (C.M. 443). A great colossus and a pair of colossi before the temple are attributed to Aahmes (Hdtos. ii. 176); but it seems more likely that these are the colossi of Ramessu II. which are still at Memphis (S.B.A. x. 452–6). A small chapel, south of Cairo, is supposed to be that mentioned

by Pankhy (Rec. xi. 98). The Serapeum steles are numerous; but the only one of historic importance is one naming the queen, which we notice below.

At Abydos the temple of Osiris Khentamenti was largely repaired. The foundation deposits of rebuilding have been found, and parts of an exquisitely wrought naos of red granite (P. Ab. i. lxviii–lxx). And the description of this rebuilding is upon the statue of Pef·zau·aui·neit, who directed it (P. Mus. A. 93; A.Z. xxxii. 118). He constructed the temple of Khentamenti with work solid for eternity, surrounded it with brick walls; the naos was of red granite (as found in 1902), the inner shrine within it of electrum. All the utensils of the temple were of gold, silver, and precious stones. He dug the lake and surrounded it with trees; gave an endowment, and body of temple serfs, who were foreign captives, to work on the estates given to the temple. And he generally established the whole religious services and amenities of the place. A very similar work was done at Henensuten, but there is no proof of the precise period of it (Statue, P. Mus. A. 88; P.R. i. 14). The quarries of Hammamat and the cataract show the marks of this activity; but there is no chronological value in the genealogy of architects (L.D. iii. 275 a), as generations are certainly omitted in the early part of it, and we cannot be certain where else they may be missing.

Of the minor antiquities, the naos at Leyden is of very fine work, and bears a great mass of mythology: but there is nothing among these which is of historic value.

The king's mother is recorded on a block at Mehallet el Kebir, and is named Ta·khred·en·ast, and her mother was Thent·mut (Rec. xxii. 143).

The queen THENT·KHETA is named on a Serapeum stele of Psamtek, who was the son of her and Aahmes.

NEKHT·SEBASTRU is similarly proved to have been queen by the Serapeum stele of her son Pasenkhonsu. Her sarcophagus was found in a pit near the pyramid of Khufu, and is now at Petersburg.

ANKHNES·RA·NEFER·AB was the great queen of Thebes under Uahabra and Aahmes, but she is never called wife of either king. She succeeded on 16 Mesore in IVth year of Haa·ab·ra (A.S. v. 87). Her sarcophagus from Thebes is published (B.S.A.), but the usurpations



FIG. 147.—Menat of Aahmes II. F.P. Coll.

on it should be separated (Rec. xxvi. 50). She erected two small chapels at Karnak, where she appears with her major-domo, or vizier, Sheshenq.

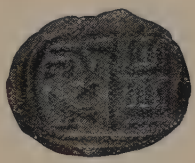
The sons of Aahmes were Psamtek III., who succeeded him; Aahmes, chief of the archers, whose

sarcophagus was found with that of his mother Nekht·sebastru at Gizeh, and is now at Petersburg; and Pasenkhonsu, a brother of his. He is said to have had a daughter Ta·khred·en·ast (L.K. 653), called after her grandmother.

Of private works of importance there is the fine bronze figure of Amen inlaid with gold, made by Horpauahem, one of the officials of the Theban queen; the statue of Pef·zau·aui·neit who restored Abydos;



FIG. 148.—Scarab of Ankh·nes·ra·nefer·ab. F.P. Coll.



Seal of prince Sheshenq. F.P. Coll.

the tomb of the vizier Sheshenq at Thebes; and the statue of the admiral Uza·hor·res·neit, which we shall notice under the Persians.

XXVI. 6.
ANKH·KA·EN·RA
PSAMTEK (III.)



526–525 B.C.

Karnak, Temple J	scene, offering to Amen	(L.D. iii. 275 f; M.K. 56 b).
,, ,,	scene with Horus	(L.D. iii. 275 g).
Head of statue.	P. Mus.	(Ms. P.E. 659).
Sistrum and fragment.	Brugsch and Meyer's Colls.	(W.G. 661).
Demotic papyrus.	Strassburg 2.	(Spiegelberg, Pl. 1).

Psamtek must have been of mature age when he came to the throne; he is not likely to have been born after his father had the power to seize the kingdom,

and hence he would be over 44 at his accession. He had a daughter and son grown up, according to the tale of their civil treatment by Cambyses.

The Persian storm had long been gathering. Gradually Persia had advanced westward; Babylon had fallen in 538 before the power of Cyrus; the Phoenician coast and its fleets were next in his power; gold and intrigue and force had made the Asiatic Greeks subservient, and detached them from their alliances with Egypt. And now Egypt stood alone to meet the Lord of Asia. Cambyses collected his forces on the Syrian frontier before the death of Aahmes, and when he took command he heard of the lucky chance for him that a new and untried king was on the throne (Hdtos. iii. 10).



FIG. 149.—Psamtek III. Paris Mus. Ms. P.E. 659.

The passage of the desert between Ienysos (Khan Yunis) and Pelusium was three days' journey (H. iii. 5) even for small parties, and more for a large army. The chances and risks were considerable, but the fickle Greek smoothed the way. "There was among the auxiliaries of Amasis a man, by birth an Halikarnassian, whose name was

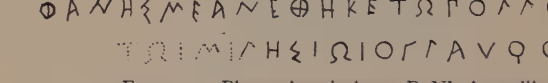


FIG. 150.—Phanes inscription. P. Nk. i. xxxiii.

Phanes, one able in counsel and valiant in war." In his palmy days in Egypt he had dedicated a splendid vase to Apollo of Naukratis, and cut his name on it, as we see to this day (P. Nk. xxxiii. 218). He played the traitor, and went over to Cambyses; leaving his

family in Egypt, with the same unconcern with which the earlier Greek mercenaries had boasted that wherever they went they would take wives and get children (Hdtos. ii. 30). Aahmes knew his value, sent in chase, and caught him in Lycia; but he slipped off in a drinking bout, and reached Cambyses. The affairs of Aahmes, and the details of the way, were all given by him; and negotiations were made with the king of North Arabia for assistance in crossing the desert, and providing camel transport for the water.

The Egyptians lay at Pelusium, and do not seem to have made any attempt to harry the travelling army and its water supply. The armies were soon face to face. And then the Karians and Ionians brought out the sons of Phanes, "within sight of their father, and placed a bowl midway between the two armies, then dragging the children one by one, they slew them over the bowl. When they had slaughtered all the children, they poured wine and water into the bowl; and, after all the auxiliaries had drank of the blood, they immediately joined battle" (Hdtos. iii. 11). This human sacrifice before the battle maintained the ceremonies of not letting the blood fall on the earth, and of the sacramental drinking of it by all the Greek troops. The parallel to this is the sacrifice of three Persian prisoners by the Greeks before the battle of Salamis. After a hard battle and great slaughter, the Egyptians broke and fled to Memphis, giving up the whole Delta. A Persian herald sent up to negotiate was torn to pieces, with all the crew of the ship. A siege, however, broke their resistance, and the Persian was Lord of Egypt. The tale of the unbroken dignity of Psamtek, in face of the slavery of his daughter and the murder of his son, is said to have touched the Persians, and Kroesos who was in their train; and the king was respectfully treated after the settlement of the country. But he could not resist intrigue, and was condemned to death.

THE PERSIAN DOMINION

XXVII. DYNASTY

		B.C.
Mesut·ra, Kambathet	Cambyses	525–521
Setetu·ra, Antaryuash	Darius I.	521–486
. . . Khshyarsh	Xerxes I.	486–466
. . . Artakhshesesh	Artaxerxes I.	466–425
.	Sogdianus	425–424
Meryamen·ra, Antaryuash	Darius II.	424–405

XXVII. 1.
MESUT·RA
KAMBATHET
(CAMBYSES)



525–521 B.C.

Serapeum	Stele of Apis, died yr. VI. P. Mus.	(Rec. xxi. 57).
Hammamat	Cartouche, yr. VI.	(L.D. iii. 283 m).
Uza·hor·res·neit	Keeper of temple Sais, statue, Vatican	(B.T. 636; P. Ins. i. 32–3; R.P. x. 49).
Aryandes	Satrap of Egypt	(Hdtos. iv. 166).

UNFORTUNATELY there is but one contemporary record of the history of Cambyses in Egypt; and Herodotos collected his tales and traditions longer after the conquest than *Waverley* is after the '45. A few old men may have remembered the contemporary gossip and rumours which float in an eastern land; but probably all the information had been tinged by, and mingled with, the later acts of the Persians.

The statue of Uza·hor·res·neit is thus the only reliable source of the history, and we here give a translation of

it. He was a prince, treasurer, a true royal relation, admiral of the fleet under Aahmes and Psamtek III. "When there came to Egypt, the great king, lord of all lands, Cambyses, and peoples of all foreign countries with him, he ruled the whole land, and they settled in it. Being great prince of Egypt, and great king of all foreign lands, his Majesty granted me the rank of chief doctor, and made me dwell with him as friend and keeper of the palace, composing his prenomen, the name king of Upper and Lower Egypt, MESUT·RA. I told his Majesty of the greatness of Sais as the dwelling of Neit, the great goddess, the mother who gave birth to Ra, the first born, before he had been born: also the idea of the greatness of the dwelling of Neit, which is heaven in all its nature: also the idea of the greatness of the temples of Neit, and of all gods and goddesses who dwell there: also the idea of the greatness of the Osireion of Sais, the seat of the Lord, the ruler of Heaven: also the idea of the greatness of the south chapel and the north chapel of the temple of Ra, and the temple of Atmu, which is the mysterious dwelling of all the gods." This record of the doctrines or ideas of the local worship shows that Cambyses came in much the same mood as Pankhy the Ethiopian, willing to conform to the local worships that he found. And evidently Uzahor composed a throne name which alluded to the mother of Ra, whom he worshipped.

He then appealed to Cambyses to eject the strangers who had taken up their abode in the sanctuary of Neit, in order to re-establish it in all its glory. So the king ordered that their houses should be destroyed, that they should carry away all their goods, and that the temple should be purified. Also, that the sacred revenues should be restored as before, since they had been confiscated for the Greek troops by Aahmes.

"When the king, Cambyses, came to Sais he went into the sanctuary of Neit, he worshipped before the holiness of Neit with much devotion, as all the kings had done, he made great offering of all good things to Neit, the great, the divine mother, and to all the gods who

dwell in Sais, as all the pious kings had done." The king also restored the offerings to Neit and to Osiris.

Uza·hor·res·neit then states his piety to his father and brothers. "At the time when the calamity came to pass in this nome, the very great calamity which came to pass in the whole land. . . . I have re-established the divine offerings of Neit. . . . I made the buildings of Neit. . . . I was an excellent man in my town, I delivered the people from the very great calamity which came to pass in the whole land, of which no one has seen the like in this land. I have protected the feeble against the mighty, I have been the protector of him who respected me, and his desire is fulfilled. I gave them all that was best, at the time fit to give it them."

"His Majesty the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Darius, ordered me to go to Egypt while his Majesty was in Aram (Syria), as he was great king of all lands and great prince of Egypt, in order to re-establish the school of sacred scribes after its ruin. The foreigners brought me from land to land, and brought me safely to Egypt, according to the word of the lord of both plains. I did as his Majesty had ordered. I provided for all the staff of scribes, and the sons of the wealthy; the children of the poor were not admitted; and I gave them to the care of the learned in all their works. His Majesty ordered that they should be given all good things, to fulfil all their needs. I gave them all their revenues, all their needs according to the word, as had been done for them before. His Majesty did this because he knew the virtue of this work of restoring all that he found wrecked, and to restore the names of all the gods, their temples, their endowments, and the management of their feasts for ever."

When we see the tales of the mental failure that overtook Cambyses, on the reverses which he suffered in Libya and Ethiopia, we cannot avoid seeing in the "great calamity" the wreck of the religious establishments, which Darius afterwards restored. The tales show how Cambyses despatched 50,000 men to the Oasis of Amen, El Khargeh, as an outpost on the way

to Carthage; and how they reached the Oasis, but were overwhelmed by a sandstorm. This is impossible, so far as we know, and it seems more likely that the account was invented by the people of the Oasis to discourage any other expeditions. Probably the leaders may have died or been murdered, and the army melted away into the Oasis and Cyrenaica as settlers (Hdtos. iii. 25–6).

The Ethiopian expedition led by Cambyses himself was not more successful. That they reached a long distance is shown by a "store house of Cambyses" near the 3rd cataract about 19½° N. (*Ptol. Geog.; Pliny*, vi. 35). But when from this point they tried to reach Napata, "before the army had passed over a fifth part of the way all the provisions that they had were exhausted, and after the provisions the beasts of burden were eaten and likewise failed; . . . so long as they could gather herbs from the earth they supported life by eating them; but when they reached the sands, . . . taking one man in ten, they devoured him. When Cambyses heard this, shocked at their eating one another, he abandoned his expedition against the Ethiopians, marched back, and reached Thebes, after losing a great part of his army. From Thebes he went down to Memphis, and allowed the Greeks to sail away." This advance was evidently along the Nile, and not across the desert, as the difficulty lay in lack of food and not in lack of water (Hdtos. iii. 25).

The madness of Cambyses is stated to date from this disaster; and a sunstroke, followed by great chagrin, would well account for such a mental failure. But the tales of his wounding Apis, and of the death of the bull, seem contradicted by the fact of Apis dying in the VIth year, when Cambyses had long left Egypt. He had become impossible as a great ruler, and the inevitable insurrection was helped by the similarity of Gaumata to Smerdis, the murdered brother of Cambyses. His end is hidden by diverse tales, but at least he left no recognised successor. After a short turmoil in Asia an able chief came to the front, perhaps aided by some stratagem, and Darius reigned.

XXVII. 2.
SETETU'RA  521–486 B.C.

ANTARYUASH
Darius I. 

Isthmus of Suez	Shaluf stele	(Rec. ix. 131, xi. 160; R.P. ix. 79; D.E. v. 29).
Tel el Maskhuta	Stele.	
Abusir	Block of granite	(N.Y. vii.).
Memphis	Kom el Qalah, block	(M.D. 34 d).
Serapeum	Steles, P. Mus., of yr. IV.	355 (Rec. xxiii. 76), 357 (77), 360 (80).
,,	Stele of yr. XI., list of priests	(A.Z. xxii. 118).
,,	Stele of yr. XXXI., Apis	(A.Z. xxii. 115).
,,	Steles of yr. XXXIV.	323 (Rec. xxi. 65), 325 (66), 326 (67).
,,	Undated steles of yr. XXXIV.	383 (Rec. xxiii. 82), 390–1 (83), 394 (84), 399 (86), 401 (86), 402–4 (87), 405–7 (88), 409 (89), 413 (90), 441 (Rec. xxv. 54), 443–5 (55), 446–7 (56), 470 (58), 471–3 (59), 474 (61), 481 (62).
,,	Berlin Mus. 3423, 2137 XV. yr.	
Hammamat	Quarry inscriptions XXVI. yr.	(L.D. iii. 283 b), XXVI. (283 d, g), XXVIII. (283 c), XXX. (283 e, f), XXXVI (283 h, i, m).
Edfu	Records of gifts, inscrip. of Ptolemy XI.	(L.D. iv. 43 a).
El Khargeh	Temple	(C.O.T. xvii.–xx.; H.G.O. iii. vi.–viii.; B.G.O.K.; R.P. viii. 135).

Stele. Berl. 7493 (Berl. Cat. p. 255).
Demotic stele, XV. yr. Brugsch Coll.
Demotic papyri. Yr. I. (Rev. Eg. iii. pls. 1, 2). Yr. III. (L.D. vi. 125, 3; T.S.B.A. viii. 22). Yr. V. (T.S.B.A. viii. 23; Caillaud, C.O.T. ii. xxvii.–viii.; Rev. Eg. iii. 192). Yr. VI. (Rev. Eg. 111, 192; C.O.T. ii. xxvii.–viii.). IX. (L.D. vi. 125; T.S.B.A. viii. 21; Corp. xxiii. 23). X. (Turin). XV. XVI. (Turin). XXIV. (Not. 417, 422; T.S.B.A. viii. 27). XXV. (Not. 423, 428, 429; Corp. i. 2). XXX. (L.D. vi. 125). XXXI. (Serapeum; Corp. xxii. 22; B. Mus.; Turin; Not. 109, 431, 434). XXXIII. (L.D. vi. 126). XXXIV. (L.D. vi. 125). XXXV. (Turin; Spiegel. pls. 1–11).
Bronze door shoe. P. Mus.; S. h. 665 (P.L. S. h.).

Sistra. Berl. Mus. 4548 (L.D. iii. 283 a); P. Mus. S. h. 664 (P.L.); C. Mus. (Ms. Q.G. 267).
Menats. F. Mus.; P. Mus. S. h. 456 (P.L.); Frankfurt; B. Mus. (P. Sc. 1999).
Satrap. Aryandes (Hdtos. iv. 166).

The first step of Darius was the murder of the existing king Gaumata; but he afterward approved himself as a fine and enlightened ruler. Egypt was left to the management of Aryandes, who was tempted to try a forward policy. Pheretime, queen of Cyrene, had fled to Egypt, and appealed for help in her quarrels about Persian influence. Aryandes "gave her all the forces of Egypt, both army and navy" (Hdtos. iv. 167). The siege of Barca lasted nine months (H. iv. 200), and only ended by treachery. At last, sated with plunder and slaves, the Persian troops turned, hardly content to leave Cyrene itself unlooted; but the retreat was harried by desert Libyans, and many perished. The unhappy Barcan slaves were exiled to Bactria, and there, clinging to their old name (H. iv. 204), founded a new city.

This success, however, could not justify the independent action of Aryandes; and the issue of coinage of a higher standard than that of the Persian mint is said to have served as a ground for his condemnation.

The arrival of Darius in Egypt was the beginning of a new policy. So far the Persian had only sought to profit from the land. Darius saw that the prosperity of the country was the road to success. He ordered the restoration of schools,—as described by Uza·hor·res·neit in the last reign,—he rebuilt the temples in various parts of the country, his quarry inscriptions are frequent in the latter part of his reign, he completed the canal which joined the Nile with the Red Sea, the national Apis worship was favoured, and he established his power firmly in the Oasis of El Khargeh as an outpost against the Cyrenaean Greeks. In every direction Egypt flourished, as it always does when at peace and not exhausted by taxation. Yet the Egyptian was not satisfied; and an obscure prince Khabbash, during the

last year of Darius, succeeded in raising revolt, and occupying Sais and Memphis (Hdtos. vii. 1). As this revolt was dignified by being counted as an independent dynasty, the XXVIIIth of Manetho, we here state the traces of Khabbash after this reign.

Along the course of his canal through the Wady Tumilat to the Red Sea, Darius erected five monuments, each bearing inscriptions (Rec. ix. 133) in Persian, Median, and Assyrian on one side, and Egyptian on the other. The stele of Shaluf was the most complete of these, but has been destroyed (R.P. ix. 81); and the



FIG. 151.—Top of Darius stele, Shaluf. Rec. ix. 145.

fragments of the others have mostly now disappeared. The inscription only mentions the decree for making the canal. At Abusir is a block of red granite with a figure of the goddess Menkhetheb; this was probably brought from the temple of Sebennytos. Of building at Memphis a block yet remains. And there is a host of steles belonging to the Apis burials of the IVth and XXXIVth years.

The quarries at Hammamat were largely worked in the later years. From the XXVIth to the XXXVIth year the quarrymaster was the *sars* of Persia, Atuahy, son Artames; and he continued to the XIIIth of Xerxes.

He was succeeded by a brother Aryuarta, son of Artames, who worked in the Vth of Artaxerxes. At Edfu the Ptolemaic work removed all the earlier temple; but the endowments of Darius are recorded by Ptolemy XI.

The great temple in the Oasis of El Khargeh is a fine work, probably all built by Darius I., though parts of the carvings have been done by Darius II. and Nekhthorheb. The different parts are distinguished



FIG. 152.—Temple of El Khargeh, general view. C.O.T. xviii.

in Brugsch's plan (B.G.O.K. taf. viii.). Three long hymns from this temple are published; two by Darius II. (B.G.O.K. 27, 48), and another by Darius I. or II., copied by Hay (R.P. viii. 137; T.S.B.A. v. 293). A large part of the sculptures were copied by Hoskins (H.G.O. pl. vi.; compare C.F. pl. p. 380).

The host of demotic contracts show that the business of the country went forward much as it did in the previous dynasty. The religious sistra and menats are often found; but there are no Persian scarabs,

showing that whatever myths were invented about the



FIG. 153.—Temple of El Khargeh, front. C.O.T. xix.

Egyptian parentage of the Persians, their names were not thought to be of any avail in the future world.

SOTEP(EN)TANEN PTAH  486–484 B.C.

KHABBASH 

Buto	Statue, endowments, renewed by Ptolemy I.	(M.D. 14; R.P. x. 71).
Serapeum	Apis sarcophagus, yr. II.	(A.Z. ix. 13; ? Rec. xxi. 57).

Under Alexander Aegus there is an inscription of Ptolemy Soter who really ruled the land, stating that Ptolemy went to inspect Buto, where there was a statue of Khabbash. The priests stated that Xerxes had oppressed Buto; and they obtained a fresh grant

of endowments from Ptolemy, who re-enacted the former grant of Khabbash. The inscription of the year II., month of Hathor, is the only other trace of him published, and shows that he held Memphis at that time. There are references to cartouches on a scarab, and in the Stier Collection (L.R.), but they are otherwise not known.

Though counted as an independent dynasty, we cannot but regard this king like the XXIVth dynasty of Bakenranf; each was a brief episode of insurrection which is of trivial importance in history, and did far more harm than good to Egypt itself.

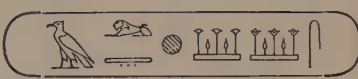
XXVII. 3. KHSHYARSHA Xerxes I.  486–466 B.C.

Hammamat	Inscriptions, yr. II. (L.D. iii. 283 n), VI. (283 l), X. (283 k), XII. (283 m, o), XIII. (283 i).	
Alabaster vases	Cab. Med., Paris (A.L. xxxi. 275), Hoffmann Coll. 59.	
Egypto-Aramaic stele, yr. IV.	Berl. Mus. 7707	(A.Z. xv. 127).
Achaimenes, satrap		(Hdtos. vii. 7).

In the second year of his reign the son of Darius came down to Egypt and wiped out the brief insurrection of Khabbash, appointing as satrap of Egypt Achaimenes his brother. He "reduced all Egypt to a worse state of servitude than it was under Darius" (H. vii. 7), and confiscated the temple estates of the revolting cities, as stated in the inscription of Ptolemy concerning Buto. The great war in Greece occupied the attention of Xerxes; and Egypt seems to have been left much to itself, as Achaimenes was called away to act as admiral with 200 Egyptian ships (Hdtos. vii. 89) in the naval side of the war (Hdtos. vii. 97, 236). After the collapse of the Greek war, Xerxes does not seem to have visited the west, and there is no trace of his influence on Egypt. The

quarry records at Hammamat show that building was going on during the reign. Two alabaster vases with quadrilingual inscriptions are paralleled by another in the next reign; the source of them all is unknown. A series of assassinations, of Xerxes, Darius, and Artabanus, at last left the child Artaxerxes master of the Empire.

XXVII. 4.
ARTAKHSHESHES
Artaxerxes I.



466–425 B.C.

Hammamat Quarries, yr. V. (L.D. iii. 283 q), XVI. (283 p).
Alabaster vase Venice (A.L. xxxi. 275).

The frequent mentions of quarrying at Hammamat, which was the most difficult and expensive of all the quarries of Egypt, and yet the absence of building in Egypt during the last and present reigns, suggests that the Persians were quarrying for export to Persia by the Red Sea. This would be easier than transport to the Nile, and perhaps some day the rocks of Hammamat will be found among the monuments of Persia.

A new king again tempted the turbulent Egyptians. Inaros, son of Psammetichos, probably one of the old Saite family, rose against the Persians and held the Delta, though Memphis and Upper Egypt were kept by the garrisons. Achaimenes appealed for help from Artaxerxes, and began to make head against the rebellion until the Athenians joined the war. Achaimenes fell under the hand of Inaros in a battle at Papremis. The Athenians defeated the Persian fleet, and then sailed up the Nile and took Memphis. But the Persian army under Megabyzos, satrap of Syria, advanced; and in the ensuing battle the Athenians were defeated, and fled to the island of Prosopis, at the beginning of 455 B.C. After eighteen months' siege, the Persian dammed the river, and crossed to the island. The Athenians burnt their ships, and were mostly slain in

battle; while the rest took refuge in Byblos. There they capitulated, and were transported to Susa. A few irreconcilables yet remained in the marshes of the Delta, and held to an Egyptian Amyrtaios as their lord; but practically Egypt was once more a Persian satrapy, and had only lost by the fruitless turmoil. After this the history of the reign is a blank in Egypt.

XXVII. 5.
MERY·AMEN·RA  424–405 B.C.
ANTARYUASH
Darius II. 

El Khargeh Temple (B.G.O.K.; A.Z. xii. 78).

After the death of Artaxerxes there followed the usual scramble for the throne, and in a few months Xerxes II. and his assassin and brother Sogdianus both perished, while a third brother Ochus took the name of Darius. More cruelties produced more revolts; but in spite of a revolt in his second year, Darius kept his hold until 405 B.C., when another Amyrtaios appeared in the Delta marshes, and the decaying power of Persia at last yielded to the western invaders. These had quite as little right as the Persians had to rule over the Egyptians; but as they and the Mendesians and Sebennytes succeeded in maintaining a hold for two generations, they are looked on as legitimate sovereigns.

The only work known of this reign is some carving on the temple in the Oasis which had been built by the first Darius.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH DYNASTY

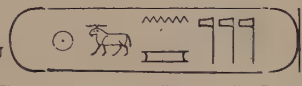
	YEARS.	B.C.
Amyrtaios	6	405–400

There is not a single monument known of this king, who only appears in the lists of the epitomizers of Manetho. The hieroglyphic form of the name is therefore unknown. He did not succeed in doing more than hold the Delta; while Egyptian troops still served Artaxerxes at the battle of Cunaxa in 401 B.C.

THE TWENTY-NINTH DYNASTY

		YEARS.	B.C.
Naifaaurud	Neferites I.	6	399–393
Hakar	Akhōris	13	393–380
Psimut	Psamouthis	1	380–379
. . .	Muthes	1	379–378
. . .	Neferites II.	4^{m}	378–378

XXIX. 1.

BA·EN·RA·MER·NETERU  399–393 B.C.

NAIFAAURUD 

Alexandria, slab (A.S. v. 122).
Serapeum Yr. II., 2 Apis steles, 4092, 4101 (D.M.E. 208).
P. Mus.
Memphis? Sphinx, basalt P. Mus. A. 26 (P.R. ii. 1).
Sohag Red granite shrine, White Monastery.
Karnak Temple V. blocks Berl. Mus. (L.D. iii. 284 b, c).
2113–4
,, ,, ,, at Karnak (S.B.A. vii. 111).
,, ,, block re-used (C.N. ii. 290).

Ushabtis P. Mus., S. h. 228; C. Mus. (Rec. iv. 110, ix. 19).
Clay seal B. Mus. 5583.
Wooden palette, false inscription? (S.B.A. xxiii. 130).
Bandage, year IV. P. Mus. 5441 (D.M.E. 207).

The need of external support against the Persians led the new king to look to the Greek alliances and mercenaries for his safety. Diodorus records the alliance with Sparta in 396 B.C., and the failure of the Spartan succours to reach Egypt owing to their

capture by the Persian fleet. Beyond this nothing is known of these six years.

The two steles from the Serapeum, of Mesore 20 in the 2nd year, show an Apis burial, and prove that Naifaaurud already held Memphis. He also seems to have decorated the temple there, as he is called beloved of Ptah of Memphis on the basalt sphinx. The principal object of the reign is an immense naos of red granite, belonging to the temple of Athribis near Sohag. It has been cut into three slabs, the back and two sides, and laid down in the floor of the nave of the white monastery; the outer sides which are visible are covered with inscriptions, and I found the cartouche of this king on the upper line. The inner sides are downwards, and are not known. At Karnak was a small temple, S.E. of the S.E. corner of the wall.

Some ushabtis are known, and a broken one was found in a rifled sarcophagus of black granite at Mendes, which might possibly have been that of the king (Rec. ix. 19). A wooden palette has the cartouche, but with an inscription of an earlier age; and from the style it appears that probably both inscriptions are modern.

XXIX. 2. MAAT·KHNUM·RA  393–380 B.C.

HAKAR 

Bubastis	Black granite, statue, fragment B. Mus.	(N.B. xliii. B).
Suez	Lamp Berl. Mus. 8811	(Berl. Cat. 250).
Heliopolis	Fragment of statue (Alexandria)	(L.D. iii. 284 e).
Memphis	Basalt sphinx, Rome. P. Mus. A. 27	(R.N.M. p. 24).
Serapeum	Stele of Ptolemy IV. naming yr. IV.	(A.Z. xxii. 118).
Turra	Stele	(V.P. iii. 103).
,,	Demotic inscriptions	(B. Rec. i. x. 10, 14–16, 20–22).

Masara	Name in quarry	(L.D.T. i. 223).
,,	Demotic inscription	(C.N. ii. 489).
Bibeh	Stele offering of lands. C. Mus.	(A.S. iii. 243).
Ehnasya	Part of basalt shrine	(P.E.).
Karnak	Temple of Psimut	(Rec. vi. 20).
,,	South of temple of Mut	(C.N. ii. 264).
,,	By Naga Foqani; see B. E. plan of Karnak	(L.D. iii. 284 f, g).
,,	Jambs at Luqsor Hotel	(S.B.A. vii. 110).
Medinet Habu	Temple J J, side of door	(L.D. iii. 284 h, i).
,,	Bust of black granite, uncertain	(Ms. G. 426).
El Kab	Columns	(L.D.T. iv. 37).
,,	Stele of offerings C. Mus.	(W. G. 698).
,,	Stele with Nekheb T. Mus.	(L.T. 1469).
,,	Fragment with name	(C.N. i. 265).
	Portrait	(L.D. iii. 301, 81).
	Sandstone statue, fragment Piehl Coll.	(A.Z. xxvi. 114).
	Granite base of altar Alexandria	(A.S. v. 119).
	Demotic papyri, VI. yr. Paris	(Not. 471).

The first serious event known to us was an attack by Artaxerxes between 390 and 386 B.C., the details of which are unknown. Hakar helped the Cypriots to throw off the Persian yoke; but the peace of Antalkidas left the Persians free to reoccupy Cyprus. Hakar then hired 20,000 Greek mercenaries, and thus strengthened Egypt to hold the Persians at bay during the rest of his reign.



FIG. 154.—Hakar. L.D. iii. 301.

From his monuments it seems that he was an active builder. The number of inscriptions in the quarries show that a good deal of original work was done. Most of what remains is in Upper Egypt; the stele of Bibeh probably

came from Ehnasya, where he most likely did a good deal of work, as he placed a great naos of basalt in the temple. At Karnak he built a small temple, which was mainly sculptured by his successor Psimut, whose name it commonly bears. A bust of black granite found at Medinet Habu is supposed to be that of Hakar, who there added a small chamber to the N.



FIG. 155.—Hakar. Cairo Museum.

side of the temple of Tahutmes (D.M.H. plan, p. 22). At El Kab he appears to have rebuilt, or largely added to, the temple of Sebek.

XXIX. 3.
USER·RA·SOTEP·EN·PTAH 
380–379 B·C.

P·SI·MUT 

Karnak	Small temple, south of lake	(Rec. vi. 20; S.B.A. vii. 108).
,,	Blocks from above	Berl. Mus. 2095 (L.D. iii. 259 a, b).

Nothing is known of this reign beyond the mention by Manetho, and the sculptures added to a small temple at Karnak.

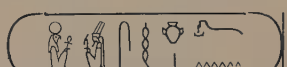
Of the other two names, Muthes and Neferites II., nothing whatever is known. The two years which include these three reigns was only a brief confusion, owing to the failure of the Mendesian dynasty to hold its own. The Sebennyte prince then rose to head the country against the Persians.

THIRTIETH DYNASTY

		B.C.
Nekht·hor·heb	Nektanebes I.	378–361
Zeher	Teos	361–359
Nekht·neb·ef	Nektanebos II.	359–342

XXX. 1.

SNEZEM·AB·RA·SOTEP·EN·AMEN



378–361 B.C.

NEKHT·HOR·HEB·MERY·AMEN



Sarcophagus	Green breccia	B. Mus.	(D.E.V. 40–1).

Sebennytos	Naos, schist	C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 173).
Behbit	Temple founded		(L.D. iii. 287 b; L.D.T. i. 220; A.Z. xxvi. 110).
Horbeyt	Temple		(N.G. 4).
Bubastis	Hall, quartzite sandstone		(N.B. 56).
,,	Shrine, red granite		(N.B. xlvii.–viii.).
,,	Statue, fragments		(N.B. xliii.).
,,	Block, red granite	Berl. 2099	(Berl. Cat. 246).
,,	Naos, black granite	C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 172).
,,	Granite relief	C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 169).
Saft el Henneh	Red granite, fragments		(N.G. 5).
Pithom	Limestone column gilt		(N.P. 14).
,,	Portrait in limestone		(P.T. i. xii.).
Tawila by Tell el Kebir	Red granite pillar		(N. G. ix. h).
Heliopolis	Base of small figure	Berl. Mus. 11577	(Berl. Cat. 248).
Memphis	Two small obelisks	B. Mus.	(D.E. v. 21–22).
,,	Blocks re-used		(A.S. ii. 241).
Serapeum	Chapel		(M.S. Ms. 15, 36, 76).

Serapeum	Three lions	(Rec. xxi. 57).
,,	Apis stele, ink-written	(Rec. xxi. 69).
,,	Steles of yrs. II. and VIII.	P. Mus.
Turra	Inscriptions	(B. Rec. i. x. 11–12).
Ehnasya	Red granite shrine	(P.E.).
Abydos	Statues	(P. Ab. i. lxx. 12; A. Ab. iii. xxviii. 4).
,,	Granite shrine from XIXth dyn. portal	(M.A. ii. 42 b).
Ghabat, S. of Abydos	Quarry inscription, yr. V.	(Rec. xvi. 126–7).
Koptos	Small obelisk of brown granite	(P. Kop. 17, xxvi.).
Hammamat	Cave shrine	(L.D. iii. 287 a).
Karnak	Great pylon built	(L.D.T. iii. 3).
,,	Temple C, blocks	(L.D. iii. 287 c, d).
,,	Temple T, scene	(L.D. iii. 287 f).
,,	Temple F, scenes and restoration text	(L.D. iii. 287 g, h).
,,	Temple of Khonsu, restoration text	(L.D. iii. 248 a; C.M. 302, 2).
,,	Chamber on north side	(C.N. ii. 273).
,,	A pylon, ruined	(C.N. ii. 273).
,,	Temple W, door jamb	(S.B.A. vii. 112).
,,	Temple of Mut, E. door	(C.N. ii. 264).
Edfu	XVIIIth yr. named by Ptolemy XI.	(L.D. iv. 44 a).
,,	Granite naos	(D.T.I. i. III.).
El Kab	Sebek temple, cornice	(C.N. i. 265).
El Khargeh	Pylon	(B.G.O.K.).

Two granite shrines	C. Mus.	(Rec. xiv. 29).
Sill of granite shrine	C. Mus.	
Obelisk, red granite	C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 197).
Stele of offerings of land	C. Mus.	
Column, usurped	B. Mus.	(Y.L. vii.).
Seated figure of god, with king	B. Mus.	(Y.L. v.).
Baboons, basalt, Iseum, Rome	Pal. Conserv.	(S.M.E.I. iii.–iv.).
Altar, granite	Turin	(L.T. 1751; T.S.B.A iii. 422).
Stele of Horus	Metternich Coll.	(G.M.S. iii. vii.).
Stele of yr. XIII.	Rome	(C.F. 385).
Ushabtis, Munich, Turin, Vienna	F.P. Coll., C. Mus.	(M.D. 95 b).
Cartouche plaques	B. Mus.; C. Mus.	(P. Sc. 2003–4).
,,	F.P. Coll.; Berl. Mus. 1966, Munich	(F.S. 421).

Queen—KHADEB·NEIT·AR·BET		(M.D. p. 29).
Lid of sarcophagus, Vienna		(B.R. i. 8, 2).
Four canopic jars		(M.D. 95 c–f).
Horpeta sarcophagus, XV. year, Vienna		(B.R. i. 6, 1).
Priests of Nekhthorheb—		
Anemher, stele	Vienna	(B.R. i. 9).
Khonsuiu, Book of Dead	Vienna	(A.Z. xviii. 52).
Nesimin, stele	El Qula, Quft	(A.S. iv. 50).
Steles	Serapeum	P. Mus. 328.

The turn of the Sebennyte princes had now come. As far back as the time of Pankhy I. and Tafnekht II.



FIG. 156.—Nekhthorheb. L.D. iii. 301.

we see Akanuash, a prince of Sebennytos; and, after the fall of the Mendesians, Nekht-hor-heb picked up the sceptre. But Persia soon began a fresh attempt. During three years great preparations were made, a fleet of over 500 vessels was assembled at Acre, and at last 200,000 Asiatics and 20,000 Greeks were thrown

upon Egypt. Nekht-hor-heb had retained the Athenian Chabrias as his general; but Artaxerxes insisted on borrowing Iphicrates from Athens, and the recall of Chabrias from Egypt. On approaching Pelusium it was found to be impregnably defended by forts and ditches; and a descent on the Mendesian branch was therefore attempted. After having obtained a footing, the Persians had not courage to advance boldly, but waited for uniting their forces, and the Egyptians made full use of the rising inundation to oust the invaders from the Delta. The Athenian general was sickened by the suspicion with which he was treated, and fled to Greece. The great Persian invasion crumbled away, and Egypt had peace for the rest of this reign.

The burial of Nekht·hor·heb was violated at an early date, in an age while large monuments were readily transported, as his coffin had been removed to Alexandria, and was enshrined in a kiosk in the mosque of St. Athanasius, where it was venerated as the tomb of Alexander. Thence it was taken by the French, and afterwards became the prize of England on the capitulation of Alexandria. It was difficult to recover it, however, as it had been put at the bottom of a hospital ship, and covered over with filth and rags to hide it (Clarke, E. D., *Tomb of Alexander*, p. 40). Similarly, the Rosetta stone was thrown face down in the mud, in hopes that it would not be observed. The stone is a beautiful green breccia, which was quarried at Hammamat, and was used also for the sarcophagus of Nekhtnebf, found in Cairo. At some age the sarcophagus had been used as a water tank, and many round holes have been cut in it for drawing off the water. It is finely engraved with long religious texts, rows of genii, and barques of the gods, in the usual style of the later monuments.

The considerable amount of building shows that the country was flourishing in its time of peace. Great temples were begun in the Delta, largely built of the red granite of Aswan, which was quarried again to a

large extent. The fashion of monolithic shrines was revived, though on not so colossal a scale as in the XXVIth dynasty.

Among the monuments of this reign the most surprising are the beautiful statues in very hard limestone found at Abydos; for the character of the work they stand almost on a level with the best carving of the



FIG. 157.—Granite naos. Edfu.

XVIIIth dynasty, and show that, even after the long repression of the Persian age, there were yet artists who could recover much of the old spirit of Egyptian art. These figures, and all the fragments of them, are in the Cairo Museum, and need rejoining. At Karnak there was no great building, but a general attention to the restoration of many of the lesser temples. Even

at the distant Oasis, the great temple had an approach added before the entrance.



FIG. 158.—Part of stele of Horus. Metternich Coll.

Of the minor remains, the Metternich stele is the most celebrated; it is by far the most elaborate of all the amulet steles, of Horus on the crocodiles overcoming the powers of evil. It is finely carved, with over 250 lines of inscription. The ushabtis are not uncommon, and some of them have so finely preserved a colour that they must have been buried south of the Delta. No scarabs are known, but several glazed plaques, probably from foundation deposits.

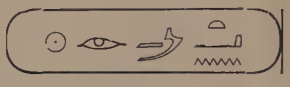


FIG. 159.—Plaque of Nekhthorheb. F.P. Coll.

The queen Khadebneitarbet is attributed to this reign, apparently on the strength of a broken ushabti of Nekhthorheb being found in her tomb at

Saqqara. Her canopic jars and lid of sarcophagus are known.

Nekhthorheb was worshipped after his death; and the system of king-worshipping was much revived at this age, as is seen by the many priesthoods of the early kings.

XXX. 2. AR·MAAT·EN·RA  361–359 B.C.

ZEHER·SOTEPEN ANHUR 

Karnak Temple of Khonsu, restoration text (Rec. xi. 153).
Fragment of naos C. Mus. (Rec. xvi. 127).
Private stele Berl. Mus. 2143 (Berl. Cat. 312).

The sarcophagus of a Ptolemaic general, Nekht·neb·f, is stated by Brugsch to give Zeher as son of Nekht·hor·heb, and father of Nekht·neb·f (Berlin Mus. 7). The Persian power was weakened, and the satraps of the Mediterranean were ready to revolt; Zeher therefore looked on this as an opportunity to join in the attack on the constant foe. He entrusted a large subsidy and a fleet to one of the party; but he was betrayed, and the supplies were handed over to the Persians. Nevertheless, Zeher prepared for attack. He obtained the help of Chabrias, who suggested heavy taxation—almost confiscation—of the temple revenues. Thus he succeeded in raising 80,000 troops and 10,000 Greek mercenaries, with a fleet of 200 vessels. He also persuaded the aged Agesilaus to come with 1000 Spartans, and placed him over the Greeks only, while Zeher himself kept the main body of native troops in hand. They invaded Syria, and besieged the Persians there; but the slowness of success led to disaffection, and the young Nekhtnebf, who was in secondary command, succeeded in winning over Agesilaus. Zeher, finding himself deserted by both Egyptians and Greeks,

fled to Susa, and threw himself on the mercy of his enemy Artaxerxes, who granted him hospitality. Nothing seems more strange in all the Persian wars than the readiness with which Greeks would pass from one side to the other; and generally the magnanimity of the worldly-wise Persian was a safer refuge than the humanity of a democracy or the honour of an army. So ended the brief two years of this reign.

XXX. 3. KHEPER·KA·RA 

359–342 B.C.

NEKHT·NEB·F 

Sarcophagus	Green breccia, Cairo C. Mus.	(Rec. x. 142; A.S. iv. 107).

Alexandria	Fragment of column	(L.D.T. i. 1).
Damanhur	Naos, black granite C. Mus.	(Rec. xi. 81).
Naukratis	Stele, black granite, yr. I. C. Mus.	(M.E. 45; A.Z. xxxviii. 127).
Sais	Naos, black granite C. Mus.	(Ms. Q.G. 170).
Sebennytos	Building, in dream of N. Papyrus L. Mus.	(Leeman's Pap. Gr. 122).
,,	Basalt statue Bib. Nat. Paris	(D.E.V. 69, 7–8).
Saft el Henneh	Granite naos	(N.G. i.–vii.).
,,	Stele	(N.G. viii. b).
Heliopolis	Temple cornice, limestone, Aberdeen.	
,,	Part of back of naos C. Mus.	(A.S. ii. 129).
Memphis	Kneeling statue of diorite Berl. Mus. 1205	(Berl. Cat. 247).
Serapeum	Steles, yr. III. Cairo Citadel	(A.Z. xxii. 134).
,,	,, ,, III. Berl. Mus. 2127	(Berl. Cat. 312).
,,	,, ,, III. 2 demotic steles P. Mus.; C. Mus.	(M.S. Ms. 27).
Turra	New quarry	(A.Z. v. 91).
Eshmuneyn	Limestone altar C. Mus.	(Rec. xx. 86).

Abydos	Temple	(P. Ab. i. 33; Ab. ii. xlix.).
,,	Scene on naos in XIXth dyn. portal	(M.A. ii. 42 c; M.A. 1424).
Koptos	On ruins	(C.L. 76).
,,	Stele, sandstone, on building a wall C. Mus.	(A.Z. xxiii. 4).
Hammamat	Shrine, yr. III.	(L.D. iii. 286 h, vi. 100).
Karnak	Great pylon inscribed	(L.D.T. iii. 3; C.N. ii. 262; C.M. 309, 2).
,,	Wall E. of temple	(C.N. ii. 256).
,,	Scene of offering	(L.D. iii. 284 k).
,,	Back of Khonsu temple	(C.N. ii. 240).
Medinet Habu	Scene with captives	(L.D. v. 1 c).
Tuphium	On side of figure of shrine	(C.N. i. 292).
Edfu	Yr. I. in inscrip. of Ptol. XI.	(L.D. iv. 43–4).
Philae	Hathor temple	(L.D. iii. 285; L.T.P. ii. iii.).
,,	Great pylon	(L.D. iii. 286 a–c).
,,	Architrave Berl. Mus. 1509	(Berl. Cat. 246).

Statues	Vatican	(Rec. vi. 118).
,,	Nantes	(W.G. 718).
(in P. Bib. Nat. above; in B. Mus. of Usertesen I.).		
Portrait		(L.D. iii. 301).
Intercolumnar slab	B. Mus.	(Y.L. x.).
,,	Bologna	
Sphinx, sandstone	P. Mus. A. 29	(R.N.M. p. xxv.).
Lions, Diocletian's baths, Rome,	Vatican	(Rec. vi. 118).
Basalt frieze	B. Mus.	
Sandstone stele, offering to Min and Hor, yr. XVI.		C. Mus.
Demotic stele	Berl. Mus.	(W.G. 718).
Door, wooden model plated with electrum		B. Mus. 38255.
Cartouche plaque	H. Coll. 366	(P. Cat. 366).
Stamp, green glaze	F.P. Coll.	
Sistrum handle	F.P. Coll.	
Menat	F.P. Coll.	
Scarabs	P. Mus.	(P. Sc. 2005–6).

The success of Nekhtnebf was by no means secured by the army who had raised him. Another claimant was started by the Egyptians at home, and Nekhtnebf had to retreat from the war to affirm his position. He held Tanis, and was there besieged; but the skill of Agesilaus scattered the rival forces, and Nekhtnebf held the throne.

Soon Artaxerxes used Zeher to attack Egypt; but he died before the campaign began. A butchery of two heirs to the Persian throne killed the old king with grief; and the intriguing Okhos succeeded, and took the name of Artaxerxes. The Egyptian war was carried on, but the vigour of the Greek mercenary generals crushed the Persian advance. This led to a rising in Syria, which took all the resources of Persia to overcome. The Persians then advanced again upon Egypt. But the war was merely a struggle of Greek mercenaries, one against the other, and their successes made the result. Pelusium was outflanked, and fell by surprise. Nekhtnebf retreated, and the Greeks carried all before them. Memphis was abandoned, and the king fled to Ethiopia with his treasures.



FIG. 160.—Nekhtnebf. Brit. Mus.

Whatever may have been the sources of the rulers of Egypt up till this time, the national life as reflected in its art had remained unbroken. And nothing shows more clearly than the style of the monuments how different was the spirit of the Ptolemaic government from any that had gone before it. Egypt was a carcase.

The monuments of this reign are scarcely as good as those of Nekht·hor·heb. The stele of Naukratis is dated in the 1st year. It records the gift to Neit of a tithe of all imports from Greece, and a tithe of all the produce of Naukratis. The torso from Sebennytos is of fine work, but has been so unsuitably restored that its effect is lost. The great granite naos of Saft el Henneh, which was smashed to pieces a few years ago, has been partly put together in Cairo, and fully published (N.G.). At Abydos a new temple was built on a fresh site near the Osiris temple; but only banks of chips remain. At Karnak the sculpturing of the great pylon is one of the principal works of the reign; the building was, however, due to Nekht·hor·heb. The scene at Medinet Habu is only one of an earlier

king (Shabaka?) appropriated. The temple at Philae with Hathor capitals is one of the best works of the reign, and marks the introduction of a new style which was continued by the Ptolemies.



FIG. 161.—Temple of Nekhtnebf. Philae.

Of the minor objects, the intercolumnar slabs and the lions are the best known and most important.

After the last native king comes a black period of eleven years, from 342 to 332 B.C., when the Persian held the land but cannot be said to have ruled it. The governing faculty had departed from that race; rampant intrigue and violence made it a curse instead

of a blessing to those over whom it ruled. Of the three Persian kings who filled this time—Okhos, 342–339 B.C.; Arses, 339–336 B.C.; Darius III., 336–331 B.C. —nothing whatever is known in Egypt. The miserable land was a prey to their rapacity. Okhos placed an ass in the temple of Ptah, and slaughtered the Apis for a banquet, as well as other sacred animals. The temples were utterly looted, the city walls destroyed. Egypt lay wasted and wrecked until new liberty was given to its ever-flowing energy by the conquest of Alexander; and this led to its rapid revival in a commercial and intellectual sense under the able rule of the earlier Ptolemies.

Yet Egypt—the old Egypt of the past ages—was gone for ever. Why should it thus have lost its character, which had survived so many shocks and changes during fifty centuries before? It had shown hitherto a marvellous habit of assimilating all its conquerors, as China has always done. Why was that habit lost? It had come in contact with a more potent civilisation, with a power which converted it, instead of being converted by it. And that closed the great series of civilisations which had succeeded one after the other,—the prehistoric age, the pyramid builders, the temple builders, the conquerors, each a different civilisation but moulded on one type.

It may be asked, if thus the stronger civilisation overrules the weaker, why did not the Roman absorb its barbarian conquerors? Rome did so; and if the Gothic kingdom had been left to continue its enlightened rule we should have seen a new Roman age, like one of the new ages of civilisation in Egypt. But the fatal policy of Justinian and the Goths, destroying one another, left the empire bare and waste, to be filled by the first savages that appeared. Had the XVIIth and XVIIIth dynasty devastated Egypt in a long war with the Hyksos, then some outside barbarians might have swamped Egypt as the Huns and Lombards swamped Italy. That, we must always remember, was the special cause of the great destruction of Roman civilisation.

But where a change of masters and an incoming race does not lead to long turmoils, then the more potent civilisation conquers the new-comers.

Egypt had led the civilisation of the Mediterranean for all its youth of five thousand years or more. We must all be grateful to it for that service, even if we have suffered from some of the later influences of its ideas.

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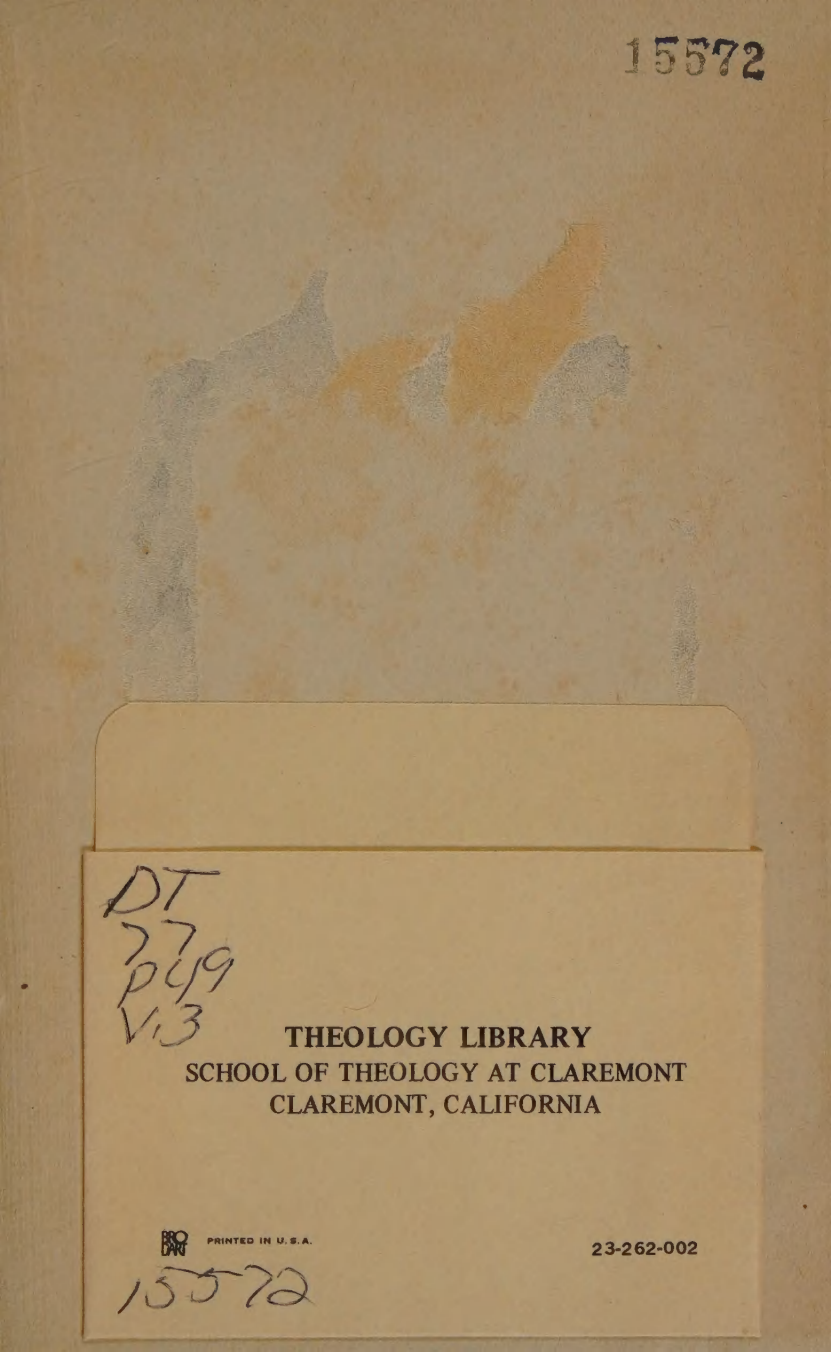
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